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VOLUME LII.

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1871.

*No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting
by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth
new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust andinders of our
feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the
armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—*
MILTON.

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impose any given tax, the purpose to which it is applied may make all the difference in these two most important things ; *first*, the reasonableness, or even the justice, of imposing the tax ; and, *secondly*, the possibility of making that reasonableness and justice plain to the people who are to pay it. But, if the right to impose the tax be absolutely denied, on the ground of a binding promise that no such tax should be imposed, then the purposes to which we may intend to devote the money can have no bearing on the question of our right to raise it.' (para. 6.)

Nothing could be more sound than the opinion expressed in this extract ; and we have not the least doubt that if the view here explained had been entertained more generally than seems to be the case, the public controversy regarding the two cesses would have been devoid of half the bitterness that has marked it, and all that tremendous nonsense that has been uttered. It is but too common in our time to hear men talk of 'the development of the material resources of the country,' of 'the abject condition of the ryots,' and of divers other things that constitute the vocabulary of cant in the present age. These men would do well to study closely and carefully the words which we have just quoted, for those words teach us to forbear to be kind, or rather *philanthropic*, at the expense of right and justice. Those who advocate the imposition of cesses upon the zemindars of Bengal, the permanent settlement notwithstanding, on the ground that without such cesses 'the material and intellectual progress of the country' cannot be worked out, seem to us to be men who do not know what true progress means, and how it is to be accomplished. It is a pity that the Government of India has not escaped the vulgar contagion in this respect.

But the Duke of Argyll, however correct his enunciation of the mode of discussing the cess question, has been extremely unhappy in the actual discussion itself. In fact, the Duke's dissertation upon the question of the right to impose cesses is altogether meaningless, in so far as one portion of it apparently contradicts another. In the seventh paragraph of his despatch, the Duke says :—

'The question, whether the Government of India has, or has not, the right to impose taxes upon land in Bengal, even for the general purposes of the empire, has been ruled and decided in the case of the income-tax. And yet that ruling was not, and could not be, arrived at by any mere construing of the words in which the promises of the permanent settlement were made. Those words did not contemplate such a case ; and, to reach the general principles on which that case was ruled, it was necessary to go outside altogether of the four corners of the document in which the permanent settlement is recorded.'

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And, again, in paragraph 8 :—

‘But if the question be, whether the right to levy such rates, in addition to the jumma, was contemplated or thought of at the time, I am compelled to believe that no such idea was in the mind of the Government of Lord Cornwallis in 1793.’

Now, in the 9th and 10th paragraphs of his despatch, the Secretary of State expresses himself in the following way :—

‘The great object and purpose of that settlement, as clearly defined and described in Article VI, should govern our interpretation of its terms. That object was, as this Article expresses at length, to put an end for ever to the practice of all former Governments of altering and raising the land-tax from ‘time to time,’ so that the landholder was never sure, for any definite period, what proportion of the total produce of the soil might be exacted by the State. This uncertainty was to be set at rest for ever. The ‘public demand’ was to be fixed and permanent. Such was the promise, and its scope and object were clearly explained in the concluding exhortation addressed to the land owners—that “they would exert themselves in the cultivation of their lands, under the certainty that they would enjoy exclusively the fruits of their own good management, and that no demand would ever be made upon them or their heirs or successors, by the present or any future Government, *for an augmentation of the public assessment in consequence of the improvement of their respective estates.*”

These last words illustrate the whole force of the argument, which has been admitted to be just in the case of the income-tax. It must be remembered that none of the pleas which, in the correspondence before me, are urged in favour of the right of the Government to levy rates for roads or for education, could have been put forward in favour of the right to impose an income-tax on the landholders of Bengal. The income-tax was not ‘local’ in any sense. It was not applied to special purposes intended for the immediate benefit of the agricultural classes. It was, in the fullest sense of the words, a ‘public demand,’ levied over and above the public demand which, under the permanent settlement, had been fixed ‘for ever.’ It went directly into the imperial exchequer, and was applied precisely as the land revenue and all the imperial taxes were applied. But there is one thing which that tax was not—it was not an increase of the public demand levied upon the zemindars ‘in consequence of the improvement of their estates.’ It was levied upon a wholly different principle and in respect of a wholly different kind of liability. One index and proof of this difference lay in the fact, that, although this ‘public demand’ was made upon those to whom the promises of the permanent settlement had been given, it was made upon them only in company with other classes of the community, and with no exclusive reference to the source from which their income was derived.’

It is clear from this last extract that, in the opinion of the Duke of Argyll, the payment to the State by the land-owning class of a

portion of the rent of the soil is a thing quite distinct from the payment by them of a tax which is levied upon them in company with other classes of the community ; and that, consequently, when a greater portion of the rent of the soil is paid to the State in consequence of any increase in the value of landed property, the payment is of a different kind from the payment of a tax which falls equally upon every class in the community. All this may be true or not, but the question is, whether the distinction set up by the Duke was meant by the authors of the permanent settlement to be embodied in the words of the statute which is declaratory of it. If it be true that the words "in consequence of the improvement of their estates," were really intended by the Legislature of 1793 to be used in the emphatic sense which is ascribed to them by the Duke of Argyll, then there cannot be the slightest doubt that that same Legislature *did* conceive the distinction which seems to the Duke so clear and well-marked. For, unless that distinction is assumed to have been in the mind of the Government of Lord Cornwallis, it is absurd to impute to the words "in consequence of the improvement of their estates" the meaning which is attributed to them by the Secretary of State. A distinctive idea is necessarily an idea which contrasts with some other idea, and is distinctive only in so far as it expresses or implies that contrast. The words, "in consequence of the improvement of their respective estates," are supposed by the Duke of Argyll to be expressive of a distinctive idea. If this supposition is correct, it follows, as a matter of course, that the idea which those words are taken to mark off as distinct and specifically different, *was* in the mind of the Government of Lord Cornwallis in 1793. Now, that other idea is no other than the idea of subjecting the zemindars of Bengal to imperial taxes which are levied upon the community in general, or, as the Duke himself says in the eleventh paragraph of his despatch, as being generically the same, the idea of local rates. But we have already quoted a passage from the Duke's despatch, wherein he clearly expresses his belief that the "right to levy such (*i. e.* local) rates, in addition to the jumma, was not contemplated or thought of at the time" of the settlement. Under these circumstances, it is impossible to say whether the words "in consequence of the improvement of their respective estates" bear any distinctive meaning ; in other words, whether the question of the right to impose cesses upon the zemindars of Bengal has been decided one way or the other.

But we have not exhausted the question so far as the words "in consequence of the improvement of their respective estates" are concerned. It may be said that these words indicate that the Legislature of 1793 meant only to fix for ever the demand of the State upon the landholders *as landholders*, and that, on

that account, Regulation I of 1793, in which these words occur leaves excuse enough for subjecting the zemindars to a tax which like the income-tax and the proposed education cess, ought to be regarded as a tax imposed upon the landholders, *not as landholders, but as members of the community in general*. But assertions like these, so common at present, ought not to be received as correct without ascertaining whether the authors of the permanent settlement themselves recognized this purely metaphysical distinction; whether, that is, they believed, like the political casuists of our time, that the practice prevailing in Europe (where, be it remarked, nothing like our permanent settlement has ever existed) of taxing the land-owning class in company with other members of the community, does not involve an increase of the public assessment on land. If it be that Lord Cornwallis and his advisers did not, while declaring the permanent settlement of the land revenue, recognize or know of the supposed distinction between taxation and rent-charge, then it must be clear that it would be wrong to take the words "in consequence of the improvement of their respective estates" in any distinctive sense, and to adjudge taxation to be proper because the distinction is recognized *at present* and is capable of being inferred from those words. The Duke of Argyll, in his despatch under consideration, has referred to the education cess in the North-Western Provinces and to the Bombay Act III of 1869, as good precedents for imposing local rates in Bengal. But it seems to us that no modern examples can be followed so long as the question remains undecided, whether the Legislature of 1793 intended that the permanent settlement of the land revenue should not preclude the imposition of local rates or general taxes.

We are ourselves of opinion that no cess can be imposed on the zemindars of Bengal, whether separately from, or in company with, the rest of the community, consistently with the terms of the permanent settlement, and we shall state some of the reasons which induce us to reject the arbitrary dictum pronounced by the Secretary of State.

I. The great object of Regulation I of 1793 is the settlement of the public revenue from land. The object of Regulation II of 1819 is "the resumption of the revenue of lands held free of assessment under illegal or invalid tenures," and is, therefore, materially the same as that of Regulation I of 1793. Now, it is a well-known rule in the construction of Statutes, that Acts of the Legislature which relate to the same subject-matter are to be regarded as one statute. It has been ruled in *R. v. Lordale*,* that "when there are different statutes *in pari materia*, though made at

* 1. Burr. 447.

different times, or even expired, and not referring to each other, they shall be taken and *construed together* as one system, and as explanatory of each other." Regulation I of 1793, Regulation II of 1819, and several other regulations which we need not mention at present, which constitute the great code of the permanent settlement, might thus, we think, be justly regarded as explanatory of each other. Now, in the preamble to Regulation II of 1819, we find the following expressions:—

'It further appears to be necessary, in order to obviate all misapprehension on the part of the public officers, or of individuals, to declare generally the right of Government to assess all lands which, at the period of the decennial settlement, were not included within the limit of an estate for which a settlement was concluded with the owners, not being lands for which a distinct settlement may have been made since the above period, nor lands held free of assessment under a valid or legal title; and, at the same time, formally to renounce all claim on the part of Government to additional revenue from lands which were included within the limits of estates for which a permanent settlement has been concluded at the period when such settlement was so concluded, whether on the plea of error or fraud, or on any pretext whatever, saving, of course, mohals expressly excluded from the operation of the settlement.'

The words "on any pretext whatever" are extremely comprehensive; they cannot admit of any exception, limitation or *distinction*. And they occur in a statute which forms part of the great code of settlement—a code of which Regulation I of 1793 itself is a part. It seems to us, then, having regard to the rule of construction quoted above, that any doubtful or contested passage in either of these two statutes ought to be interpreted by the aid of any clear and unambiguous expression in the other. Now Regulation I of 1793 says that "the public assessment" on land shall not be increased "in consequence of the improvement of estates," whilst Regulation II of 1819 declares that the public assessment shall not be increased "on any pretext whatever." Of these two expressions, the former, it cannot be denied, is liable to misconstruction, but the latter is as clear as any human language could well be. Besides, the words "on any pretext whatever," as implying "*any conceivable cause whatever*," ought justly to supersede the words "in consequence, &c.," which indicate only *one* out of *many* conceivable causes. We are then, we think, entitled to substitute for the words "in consequence, &c." the words "on any pretext whatever," without thereby curtailing the import of Regulation I of 1793. And, this substitution made, it cannot be urged with any show of reason that the words displaced were intended by the Legislature to be expressive of any distinction, exception or limitation.

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But the particular expression “in consequence of the improvement of their respective estates” yet remains to be accounted for, for we cannot plead intentional prolixity on the part of the Legislature of 1793. The passage where that expression occurs, stands as follows :—

‘The Governor-General in Council trusts that the proprietors of land, sensible of the benefits conferred upon them by the public assessment being fixed for ever, will exert themselves in the cultivation of their lands, under the certainty that they will enjoy exclusively the fruits of their own good management and industry, and that no demand will ever be made upon them, or their heirs or successors, by the present or any future Government, for an augmentation of the public assessment in consequence of the improvement of their respective estates.’

Lord Cornwallis, it is clear, intended by these words to encourage the landholders of Bengal in the cultivation and improvement of their estates, alleging, as his reason for so doing, that the fruits of increased cultivation and improvement would be enjoyed by themselves and themselves alone. It was not, it is manifest, the object of the Legislature in this passage to describe the nature of the permanent settlement—its legal character and fiscal scope. The object was simply to exhort the zemindars of Bengal to improve their estates, and it is only natural to expect that an exhortation to improvement, contained in a charter guaranteeing fixity of assessment, should conclude with the words “in consequence of the improvement of their respective estates.” It is the nature of the exhortation, and not any intention to lay down any distinguishing principle, that best accounts for words, which, taken in a plain common-sense fashion, would seem to be perfectly devoid of any such magic as the Duke of Argyll would fain perceive in them.

II. It may possibly be urged that the words “on any pretext whatever,” found in Regulation II of 1819, are not inconsistent with the supposition, that the settlement of 1793 had reference only to the right of taxing the rent of the soil, and not to the right of taxing the land-owning class in company with the rest of the community; that all that the Legislature meant to say was, that it was only the portion of the rent of the soil reserved at the time of the settlement which was not to be increased “on any pretext whatever.” This argument seems at first sight to be logically vicious as involving the well-known fallacy of *petitio principii*—a fallacy which is mostly resorted to by idle dogmatists and self-sufficient opinionists. And a careful study of the literature of the permanent settlement will, we venture to think, convince everybody that what at first sight seems to be an error in procedure is also an error upon the merits.

The question to be determined is, not whether there is any radical distinction between a tax and a rent-charge, but whether the Legislature of 1793, whilst fixing the public assessment upon land, intended that the zemindars of Bengal should be subjected to any general public burden which any future Government might think it necessary to impose in consequence of any exigencies of the State. The answer to this question, whatever it be, will also be an answer to the question, whether any cesses can be imposed upon the zemindars of Bengal; for, as the Duke of Argyll himself would say, a tax which, like the income-tax of 1860, has its origin in great public exigencies, is, so far as the question of its consistency or otherwise with the terms of the permanent settlement is concerned, the same in principle as a local cess. Now it is particularly worthy of remark that the question whether the zemindars of Bengal should or should not be subjected to any future general burdens after a permanent assessment of the land revenue, was distinctly raised at the time when the plan of a permanent settlement was under the consideration of the Government of Lord Cornwallis. Mr. Shore, in his minute of the 8th December 1789, says:—

‘But the perpetuity of assessment is qualified by Mr. Law by the introduction of a clause, that the proprietors of mokurrurce tenures shall be subject to a proportion of a general addition, when required by the exigencies of government.’

And Mr. Francis, in a letter addressed by him to Lord Cornwallis, on the 6th March 1789, states Mr. Law’s proposal to have been

‘that the land revenue of the whole of the Company’s territorial possessions in Bengal, Behar and Orissa (exclusive of land exempted from the payment of public revenue, and tracts of waste land not annexed to any existing villages) be fixed once for ever, subject only to a proportionate general addition when required by the exigencies of government.’

It is thus indisputable that the question of taxing the landholders of Bengal in company with other classes of the community was raised by a distinguished servant of the East India Company, in a clause which was evidently intended by him for insertion in the statute which was to proclaim to the country the perpetual settlement of its land revenue. It is also clear that Lord Cornwallis and his able coadjutors were aware of the proposal made by Mr. Law, the Collector of Behar. And it is necessary to add that that proposal was carefully discussed by the members of the Government of Lord Cornwallis, as succeeding extracts from the minute and the letter cited above will abundantly prove. Under these circumstances, is it not natural to enquire what became of the proposal made by Mr. Law—of the clause embody-

ing that proposal? The clause is not to be found in any one of the Bengal regulations. Is it not natural, therefore, to conclude that the Legislature of 1793 must have rejected it as being repugnant to the principle of a fixed and permanent assessment? We hope it will not be pleaded, as it has been pleaded in the matter of the Seditious Language Bill, that the absence of the clause was owing to oversight. The documents that have come down to us, relative to the debates, discussions and enquiries which took place previous to the declaration of the perpetual assessment, prove most clearly that carelessness was not one of the faults of the Government of Lord Cornwallis. On the contrary, we find the noble Marquis fully impressed with the necessity of exercising the utmost caution in shaping a measure which was to bind his own and all succeeding Governments. And the Court of Directors, in their revenue general letter of the 19th of September 1792, sent certain injunctions to their Governor-General, the perusal of which must convince every sober-minded man that to plead oversight as the cause of the absence of the clause proposed by Mr. Law from the code of the settlement, would be to make a statement at once most unwarranted and unjust. We reproduce the injunctions below:—

‘In order to leave no room for our intentions being at any time misunderstood,” said the Court of Directors, *“we direct you to be accurate in the terms in which your determination is announced; and you will be careful to have it translated and circulated in the same manner as you have directed with respect to your own code of regulations. Having left it to your discretion to decide on the measures to be adopted relative to the waste lands, you will of course determine whether any reserve should be made in this declaration with a view to that object; and you will, in a particular manner, be cautious so to express yourselves as to leave no ambiguity as to our right to interfere, from time to time as it may be necessary, for the protection of the ryots and subordinate landholders; it being our intention, in the whole of this measure, effectually to limit our own demands, but not to depart from our inherent right as sovereigns, of being the guardians and protectors of every class of persons living under our Government. We are not aware that we have omitted a determination upon any article necessary, or important, to your procedure to this last step;”** and we shall be happy that Lord Cornwallis, who has done so much in this arduous work, see no reason to deny himself the happiness of announcing a new constitution to so many millions of the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain.’

After this, it would surely be the very height of impertinence to argue that anything worthy of consideration was overlooked by the Government of Lord Cornwallis.

* All the italics in this extract are ours.

The introduction of the clause proposed by Mr. Law, was strongly opposed by Mr. Shore, who thus expressed himself in his minute of 8th December 1789 :—

‘But the perpetuity of assessment is qualified by Mr. Law by the introduction of a clause, that the proprietors of mokurruce tenures shall be subjected to a proportion of a general addition, when required by the exigencies of government. This qualification is, in fact, a subversion of the fundamental principle; for, the exigencies not being defined, a Government may interpret the conditions according to its own sense of them; and the same reasons which suggest an addition to the assessment may perpetuate the enhancement. The explanation given by Mr. Law to this objection is, that temporary extraordinaries must have temporary resources, and even the land at home is liable to a general tax during war; but the land-tax in England does not bear a proportion of nine-tenths to the income of the proprietor.

Notwithstanding the explanation, I shall consider the qualifying clause as either nugatory or pernicious, and as standing in direct contradiction to the principle of a mokurruce settlement. The very term implies an unalterable assessment. * * * I deem the proposition of mokurruce settlement subject to an increase upon exigency, a solecism; and that permanency must be given up, or the clause be withdrawn.’

Here, then, is the ablest member of the Government of Lord Cornwallis recording in the clearest of words his opinion, that taxing the zemindar in company with the other classes of the community is nothing more or less than increasing the public assesment upon laud. And, if we assume for the sake of argument that Lord Cornwallis was of a different opinion, that, in short he believed that taxing the zemindar was not the same as increasing the assessed jumma—then it must be conceded that the sentiments expressed by Mr. Shore amounted to a *misconstruction* of the scheme proposed by the Governor-General. But Mr. Shore was not an ordinary man. He had a large share in the administration of the country, and his talents, which were of a very high order, were the admiration of Lord Cornwallis and the Court of Directors. That the opinions of such a man could have been disregarded by Lord Cornwallis or the Court of Directors, it is impossible for us to believe. It is, therefore, most natural to expect that we should find in Article VII, Regulation I of 1793, some reservation of the power of taxing the zemindars of Bengal in company with the rest of the community—a power which, according to Mr. Shore, could not survive a fixed and perpetual assessment of the land revenue. That Article was introduced specially for the purpose of preventing any “*misconstruction*” of the first six Articles in which the permanent settlement had been announced—for the purpose, that is, of making a distinct declaration of the rights which Government had

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reserved in connection with the permanent settlement, and which seemed to Lord Cornwallis and the Court of Directors likely to be disputed in after times, if not sufficiently explained. That this was the object of the seventh Article, will appear most clearly from its opening words, which are as follows :—

‘To prevent any *misconstruction* of the foregoing Articles, the Governor-General in Council thinks it necessary to make the following declarations to the zemindars, independent talookdars, and other actual proprietors of land.’

When, therefore, we consider that the Collector of Behar had proposed the insertion of a clause, reserving, in the clearest of words, the power of “subjecting the zemindars to a proportionate general addition when required by the exigencies of Government,” and that so great a man as Mr. Shore had opposed that clause as being inconsistent with the idea of a fixed and perpetual assessment, we cannot help thinking that, if Lord Cornwallis himself had thought differently from Mr. Shore, Mr. Law’s clause would have been inserted in an Article which had for its object a distinct and specific enumeration of the rights which were intended to be reserved by Government, and which were likely to be contested in after times. A prudent administrator like Lord Cornwallis, carrying out a measure which he knew, more perhaps than any other man, to be of the greatest importance to the country, and ordered by his official superiors to carry it out with great caution and extreme technical precision, would not certainly have neglected to insert in an Article which he introduced for the sole purpose of preventing any future misconstruction, a clause, the omission of which, considering the objections taken to it by so able an officer as Mr. Shore, must have appeared to him likely to cause that very misconstruction which he was so anxious to avoid. If the question of subjecting the zemindars of Bengal to general taxes had not been raised at the time when the scope and limits of the permanent assessment were under discussion, then, certainly, there might have been some grounds, however fallacious, for alleging that the absence of any such clause as was proposed by Mr. Law does not prove that Regulation I of 1793 precludes the imposition of taxes upon the land-owning class. But seeing, as we do, that the question was distinctly raised at the time, we cannot help inferring from the absence of the clause from the Article which is devoted to a distinct enumeration of the rights which were intended to be reserved by Government, that the clause must have been rejected.

But although the identical clause is absent, it may be that there is something equivalent to it in some one of the five clauses which make up Article VII of Regulation I of 1793. We will therefore examine these clauses one by one.

Clause I stands as follows :—

‘It being the duty of the ruling power to protect all classes of the people, and more particularly those who, from their situation, are most helpless, the Governor-General in Council will, whenever he may deem it proper, enact such regulations as he may think necessary for the protection and welfare of the dependent talookdars, ryots, and other cultivators of the soil; and no zemindar, independent talookdar, or other actual proprietor of land, shall be entitled on this account to make any objection to the discharge of the fixed assessment which they have respectively agreed to pay.’

We have already seen that, according to the Duke of Argyll, the Government of Lord Cornwallis simply intended by these words to reserve the right of “regulating and limiting the power of the zemindars over their tenantry.” Mr. Campbell, too, in his essay on the System of Land Tenure in India,* concludes his account of the specific limitations prescribed by the early Regulation law to the power of the zemindars over their tenantry by quoting this very clause with the following remark :—

‘In addition to these specific provisions, there was the general provision often quoted, reserving a power of future interference in behalf of the inferior holders.’

This makes it perfectly clear that Mr. Campbell agrees with the Secretary of State in thinking that the clause under consideration has reference only to the power of regulating the relation between the zemindar and his tenant. And the two following extracts, of which the first is from a minute of Lord Cornwallis, dated the 3rd February 1790, and the second from the revenue general letter of the Court of Directors, dated 19th September 1792, leave no doubt as to the correctness of this interpretation :—

‘In order to simplify the demand of the landholder upon the ryot, or cultivator of the soil, we must begin with fixing the demand of Government upon the former. * * * * Some interference is undoubtedly necessary on the part of Government for effecting an adjustment of the demands of the zemindars on the ryots.’

‘We therefore wish to have it distinctly understood, that while we confirm to the landholders the possession of the districts which they now hold, and subject only to the revenue now settled, and while we disclaim any interference with respect to the situation of the ryots or the sums paid by them, with any view to an addition of revenue to ourselves; we expressly reserve the right which clearly belongs to us, as sovereigns, of interposing our authority in making, from time to time, all such regulations as may be necessary to prevent the ryots being improperly disturbed in their possession, or loaded with unwarrantable exactions.’

* *Systems of Land Tenure*, published under the sanction of the Cobden Club, p. 174.

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That these views were intended by the Court of Directors to be embodied in the settlement proclamation (Regulation I of 1793), is proved most clearly by the following words, which occur in the concluding part of their letter :—

‘We are not aware that we have omitted a determination upon any article necessary, or important, to your procedure to this last step.’

Clause 2, Article VII, of Regulation I of 1793 runs as follows :—

‘The Governor-General in Council having, on the 28th July 1790, directed the *sayer* collections to be abolished, a full compensation was granted to the proprietors of land for the loss of revenue sustained by them in consequence of this abolition ; and he now declares that, if he should hereafter think it proper to re-establish the *sayer* collections, or any other internal duties, and to appoint officers on the part of Government to collect them, no proprietor of land will be admitted to any participation thereof, or be entitled to make any claim for remissions of assessment on that account.’

To any one acquainted with the plain English meaning of plain English words this clause will, no doubt, seem to be utterly devoid of any such expression as might be construed into a reservation of the power of subjecting the zemindars of Bengal “to a proportionate general addition when required by the exigencies of Government.” And we should not certainly have put our readers to the trouble of perusing this clause, had it not been that the *Indian Daily News* has quoted it, and quoted it with all the emphasis of italics more than half-a-dozen times, with a view to prove that Lord Cornwallis did not mean to exclude the zemindars of Bengal from any general tax or local rate which any future Government might think it necessary to impose. The words “or any other internal duties” have been pointed out with an air of triumph as being comprehensive enough in their meaning to imply local cesses of the kind about to be imposed upon the zemindars of Bengal. We need not enter into a historical disquisition on the subject of internal duties, as they existed in this country prior to the assumption of the Dewanny by the East India Company, in order to show that the meaning which has been ascribed to the words “internal duties” is radically false. We think that the following short extract from the minute of Lord Cornwallis, dated 3rd February 1790, will satisfy everybody that by the words “internal duties” the Government of Lord Cornwallis meant nothing more or less than *inland transit duties*.

‘Further benefits,’ says Lord Cornwallis, ‘are to be derived from this arrangement, when the amount of the internal duties, the rates by which they are levied, and the *articles subject to the payment of them*, are ascertained.’

Surely one must go the length of saying that men can be regarded as articles of traffic, in order to be able to urge that the Legislature, having reserved the right of imposing *internal duties*, has consequently reserved the right of imposing cesses upon zemindars. But there are words in the clause itself which prove most conclusively that nothing could be more absurd than the meaning which it has been attempted to deduce from it. The words "*re-establish* the sayer collections, or any other internal duties," make it perfectly clear that, unless local cesses of the kind proposed to be levied can be proved to have existed under the Muhammanadan sovereigns of Bengal, it would be to ignore the plain meaning of the word '*re-establish*,' to argue that "*internal duties*" can be interpreted to mean local rates. It would be absurd to talk of *re-establishing* anything which never before existed. The words "no proprietor of land will be admitted to any *participation* thereof" are also fatal to the view we are discussing. If it be true that the Government of Lord Cornwallis, in using the words "*internal duties*," reserved to itself a power comprehensive enough to justify the imposition of a road cess or an education cess, then it must be admitted that never did legislative wisdom give expression to an idea more exquisitely absurd than is met with in the clause under consideration. For what could exceed the absurdity of a declaration made by Lord Cornwallis, not to *participate* with the zemindars of Bengal the proceeds of taxes levied upon those very persons? Could any but a maniac ever think it necessary to make such a declaration? It is clear, then, that nothing like a right of imposing cesses upon the zemindars of Bengal was reserved in the clause under notice.

It is unnecessary to discuss the remaining clauses of this Article, as there is nothing in any one of them which is at all capable of being construed into a reservation of the right of subjecting the zemindars of Bengal to a proportionate general addition when required by the exigencies of Government.

The inference, then, which we have drawn from the absence of the clause proposed by Mr. Law from Article VII Regulation I of 1793, remains unshaken and uninjured. The following considerations will, we think, prove it to be perfectly unassailable.

III. We have already stated that, even supposing the distinction between a tax and a rent-charge to be true, the real question to be solved in deciding whether a cess upon the landholders of Bengal would or would not be inconsistent with the terms of the permanent settlement, is, whether that distinction was known to, or recognized by, the celebrated men who concluded that measure. And the reason why we consider this enquiry to be essential is simply this: It is a fact, which it is rather distasteful to state because of its truism, that everything on this earth

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has a history or progressive development. The science of political economy is one of the creations of man, and, consequently, it can no more be said of this than of any other achievement of the human mind, that it has had no history or progressive development. There was a time when gold alone was regarded as wealth. The world has seen men who considered the exportation of gold to be destructive of national prosperity, and men who denounced the importation of corn as a crime. There have been philosophers who regarded agriculture as the only source of opulence, and statesmen who protected monopolies and fixed the prices of goods. The growth of economical ideas is as much a work of time as the growth of any other ideas, whether political or scientific. And no one seems to be more fully convinced of this truth than the great John Stuart Mill, the strongest advocate of the rent-charge doctrine. In the preface to his *Political Economy*, that eminent writer says :—

‘It appears to the present writer that a work similar in its object and general conception to that of Adam Smith, but adapted to the more extended knowledge and improved ideas of the present age, is the kind of contribution which political economy at present requires. The *Wealth of Nations* is in many parts obsolete, and in all imperfect. Political economy, properly so called, has grown up almost from infancy since the time of Adam Smith ; and the philosophy of society, from which practically that eminent thinker never separated his more peculiar theme, though still in a very early stage of its progress, has advanced many steps beyond the point at which he left it.’

Under these circumstances, a truly conscientious man cannot dispose of the question, whether any taxes can be levied upon the zemindars of Bengal consistently with the terms of the permanent settlement, without enquiring into the history of what, for the sake of convenience, we have called the doctrine of rent-charge. Now it must be borne in mind that Lord Cornwallis and his advisers, who are assumed by the advocates of the cesses to have made a distinction between a tax and a rent-charge, settled the land revenue of Bengal in the year 1793, just seventeen years after the publication of the *Wealth of Nations*—a work which was the first of its kind in Europe, and which, according to Mr. Mill, “is in many parts obsolete and in all imperfect,” that is to say, at a time when economic science was in its extreme infancy. It is not sufficient, therefore, to assume the correctness of the distinction between a tax and a rent-charge, but it must be ascertained whether that distinction, in itself not very easily perceivable, was known at a time when economic ideas are admitted to have been few in number and full of error.

It is necessary, for the purposes of our enquiry, to understand clearly what rent-charge means, and how it is distinguished from

a tax. Mr. J. S. Mill satisfies us on these points in the following words:—

‘These observations are applicable to a land tax only in so far as it is a peculiar tax, and not when it is merely a mode of levying from the landlords the equivalent of what is taken from other classes. In France, for example, there are peculiar taxes on other kinds of property and income (the *mobilier* and the *patente*) and supposing the land tax to be not more than equivalent to these, there would be no ground for contending that the State had reserved to itself a rent-charge on the land. But wherever and in so far as income derived from land is prescriptively subject to a deduction for public purposes, beyond the rate of taxation levied on other incomes, the surplus is not properly taxation, but a share of the property in the soil reserved by the State. In this country there are no peculiar taxes on other classes, corresponding to, or intended to countervail, the land-tax. The whole of it, therefore, is not taxation but rent-charge, and is as if the State had retained, not a portion of the rent, but a portion of the land. It is no more a burthen on the landlord than the share of one joint-tenant is a burden on the other. The landlords are entitled to no compensation for it, nor have they any claim to its being allowed for as part of their taxes. Its continuance on the existing footing is no infringement of the principle of equal taxation.’*

Assuming the opinion delivered in this passage to be correct, the substance of it may be stated in four propositions, as follows:—

1st.—A rent-charge is a portion of the rent of the soil reserved by the State on the ground of its being joint-proprietor of the land with the land-owning class.

2nd.—A tax on the land-owning class is to be understood to be a rent-charge when there is nothing equivalent to it levied on the other classes of the community.

3rd.—A rent-charge cannot be called an *unequal* tax on the ground of there not being any tax equivalent to it levied upon other than landholders.

4th.—A rent-charge cannot be considered as a burden upon the land.

It is not necessary, for the purposes of the enquiry which we have undertaken, to discuss the first two propositions, which involve abstruse historical and juridical considerations. But assuming a rent-charge to be what it is defined to be by Mr. Mill, we cannot help feeling the last two propositions to be not only correct but necessary and self-evident corollaries. The principle, for instance, of equality of taxation means that the subjects of a State “ought to contribute towards the support of the Government, as nearly as possible in proportion to their respective abilities, that is, in proportion to the revenue which they respectively

* *Principles of Political Economy*, Book v, ch. ii, sec. 6.

enjoy under the protection of the State." Now, what the State takes in the shape of a rent-charge, is, according to Mr. Mill, not the property of any individual landholder, but the property of the State regarded as a landholder. The principle, therefore, of equality of taxation is wholly out of place in a discussion upon the amount of a rent-charge. For a principle, which applies only to a taxation of *private* property cannot apply strictly and without qualification to the taking by the State of what belongs to itself. Conversely, it must appear clearly that to judge of a rent-charge by the principle of equality of taxation, would be to judge of it as a *true tax upon private property*, and consequently to ignore the distinction between a tax and a rent-charge. The land-tax in England, according to Mr. Mill, in the passage quoted above, is only a rent-charge and not a tax, and the sudder jumma of Bengal is said, in another part of his work on Political Economy,* to be similar in its character to the English land-tax. But Mr. Mill's idea, it should be obvious, is of no use whatever in deciding the cess question, inasmuch as Mr. Mill is not a contemporary of Lord Cornwallis and his able co-adjutors. The man whose opinions must have guided the authors of our permanent settlement is Adam Smith, for the only systematic and authoritative work on Political Economy which existed in Europe till the beginning of the nineteenth century was the *Wealth of Nations*. It is, therefore, most necessary and pertinent to enquire what view has been taken of the English land-tax by the father of economic science. Now, in Book V, Chapter II, Article I, of his *Wealth of Nations*, Adam Smith says :—

'A land-tax which, like that of Great Britain, is assessed upon each district according to a certain invariable canon, though it should be equal at the time of its first establishment, necessarily becomes unequal in process of time, according to the unequal degrees of improvement or neglect in the cultivation of the different parts of the country. In England the valuation according to which the different counties and parishes were assessed to the land-tax by the 4th of William and Mary was very unequal, even at its first establishment. This tax, therefore, so far offends against the first of the four maxims above mentioned, [i.e., the principle of equality of taxation]. It is perfectly agreeable to the other three.'

We have only to read carefully the definition which Adam Smith gives of the principle of equality of taxation, in order to be convinced that that eminent writer regarded the English land-tax not as a portion of the rent of the soil belonging to the State in its capacity of joint-proprietor of land with the landowning class, but as a true tax upon private property. The definition says that taxes are to be levied upon the subjects of a State "in proportion

* *Principles of Political Economy*, Book. v, ch 11, sec. 6.

to their respective abilities, that is, in proportion to the revenue which they respectively enjoy under the protection of the State." The words "the revenue which they respectively enjoy" cannot mean anything else than "private property," as a man cannot enjoy what does not belong to him. Adam Smith, then, by saying that the English land-tax offends against the principle of equality of taxation, which requires that the subjects of a State should be taxed "in proportion to the revenue which they enjoy under its protection," must be admitted to have regarded the *entire* rent collected by the landlords of England as their exclusive private property, and the tax imposed upon it as a tax upon private property. That the view for which we are contending is the correct view, will appear still more clearly from the following considerations.

Dr. Smith begins his chapter upon taxes by saying, that "the private revenue of individuals arises ultimately from three different sources—rent, profit and wages," and that "every tax must finally be paid from some one or other of those different sorts of revenue, or from all of them indifferently." He then explains his four principles of taxation, and subjoins to that explanation his dissertation, in four distinct articles, upon "taxes upon rent," "taxes upon profit," "taxes upon the wages of labour," and "taxes which fall indifferently upon every different species of revenue." Now, in explaining the principle of equality of taxation, Dr. Smith says:—

'Every tax, it must be observed once for all, which falls finally upon one only of the three sorts of revenue abovementioned (viz., rent, profit and wages,) is necessarily unequal in so far as it does not affect the other two. In the following examination of different taxes, I shall seldom take much further notice of this sort of inequality, but shall, in most cases, confine my observations to that inequality which is occasioned by a particular tax falling unequally upon that particular sort of private revenue which is affected by it.'

Although, therefore, the sentence which we have italicised, or anything like it, does not occur in his article upon the land-tax, still Dr. Smith seems, from the wording of that sentence, to authorize us to take it as inserted in that article, in case the land-tax of England or of any other country is found to be without a countervailing tax on other than landholders. Now, what does that sentence mean? It means that anything which is taken from the proprietors of land in addition to what they pay in common with the remainder of the community, is taken unjustly, because it is taken in violation of the principle of equality of taxation. Now, what is Mr. Mill's definition of a rent-charge? It is this—"But wherever and in so far as income derived from land is prescriptively subject to a deduction for public purposes *beyond the rule*

of taxation levied on other incomes, the surplus is not properly taxation, but a share of the property in the soil reserved by the State." But is not this surplus obtained at the sacrifice of the principle of equality of taxation? Mr. Mill says NO,—for he thinks that the land-tax of England implies "no infringement of the principle of equal taxation." Now, is not the very "surplus," which Mr. Mill calls "a share of the property in the soil reserved by the State," and which seems to him to imply "no infringement of the principle of equal taxation," condemned by Adam Smith as an unjust exaction on the ground that it *does* imply an infringement of the principle of equal taxation? "Every tax upon the rent of land," says Adam Smith, "in so far as it does not affect profit and wages, is an unequal tax." "Every tax upon the rent of land," says Mr. Mill, "in so far as it does not affect profit and wages, is a rent-charge and cannot be condemned as an unequal tax." Could opinions ever be more hostile to each other than these of Smith and Mill? Is it possible to believe that Adam Smith regarded the land-tax of England, or of any other country of the globe, as a rent-charge and not as a true tax? Surely, it would be monstrous to hold that the distinction between a tax and a rent-charge, of which so much has been made in our age, was recognized by our ancestors in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Nor does it appear that this distinction was conceived till a very late era in the nineteenth century. Mr. Ricardo, writing about the year 1819, says :—

'A land tax may be proportioned to the quality of the land and the abundance of its produce, and then it differs in no respect from tithes; or it may be a fixed tax per acre on all land cultivated, whatever its quality may be. A land-tax of this latter description would be a very unequal tax, and would be contrary to one of the four maxims with regard to taxes in general, to which, according to Adam Smith, all taxes should conform.'*

A writer who condemns the land-tax on the ground of its violating "one of the four maxims with regard to taxes in general," cannot be understood to have regarded it as a rent-charge. Evidently, he considered it to be a true tax.

But further. Mr. Ricardo, replying to certain objections made by the great French economist, M. Say, to the fixed character of the English land-tax, says :—

'The English Government has held no such language as M. Say has supposed. It did not promise to exempt the agricultural class and their successors from all future taxation, and to raise the further supplies which the State might require from the other classes of society ;

* *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*, second edition, chap. xii, p. 212.

it said only, "In this mode we will no further *burthen* the land, but we retain to ourselves the most perfect liberty of making you pay, under some other form, your full quota to the future exigencies of the State." *

These words prove in various ways that their writer regarded the English land-tax as a true tax, but we will point out only one. Mr. Ricardo says that the land-tax is one mode of *burthening* the land. Mr. Mill, as we have already seen, says, that "it is no more a burthen on the landlord than the share of one joint-tenant is a burthen on the other." If, then, Mr. Ricardo had thought with Mr. Mill that the land-tax was only a share in the profits of the soil belonging to the State as a joint-proprietor of land with the land-owning class, he would not have spoken of it as a *burthen* on the landlord. The connexion between Mr. Mill's premises and his conclusion is too clear to be lost sight of by any but the veriest dullard.

We need not trace any further the history of Mr. Mill's rent-charge doctrine. It is sufficient that it was not propounded at any time between 1776 and 1820, for the date of the permanent settlement is intermediate between those two epochs. But it is not altogether unnecessary for us to enquire whether Lord Cornwallis and his advisers were wiser men than Adam Smith and Ricardo, as many amongst us would have us believe. We have already seen that Mr. Shore, one of the ablest members of the Government of Lord Cornwallis, considered any future taxation of the zemindars of Bengal to be inconsistent with the meaning of a fixed assessment, thereby indicating in the clearest manner possible that he regarded the land-tax of this country as a true tax and not as a rent-charge in the sense in which Mr. Mill takes it. The same opinion was entertained by another distinguished officer of the East India Company, Mr. Francis, who, in his letter to Lord Cornwallis, dated the 6th March 1789, thus remarked on the proposal made by Mr. Law to fix once for ever the land revenue of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, "subject only to a proportionate general addition when required by the exigencies of Government":—

'If certainly be the only requisite in taxation, perhaps it (*i.e.*, a fixed assessment subject to a proportionate general addition when required by the exigencies of Government) is; though the unlimited power of *increase*, when required by undefined exigencies, renders even this disputable.'

It is clear, then, that, according to Mr. Francis, subjecting the zemindars to taxes was the same thing as *increasing* the

* *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*, second edition, chap. xii, pp. 221—222.

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public assessment upon land. The word "increase," which occurs in this extract, cannot but mean "increase of the jumma assessed upon the land." But, if Mr. Francis had believed, like some modern theorists, that the land-tax of Bengal was something radically distinct from a true tax, he could not possibly have regarded the imposition of taxes upon our zemindars in the light of an increase of the public assessment upon land. The Duke of Argyll, who considers the land-tax of Bengal to be only a rent-charge in Mr. Mill's acceptation of that term, does not say that the imposition of an education cess upon the zemindars of Bengal would be tantamount to an increase of the public assessment upon land. Thus, the *expounder* of the permanent settlement takes the land-tax of Bengal in a sense radically different from that in which it was taken by one of the *authors* of that celebrated measure. Nor did Lord Cornwallis himself differ in opinion from his able colleagues, as is proved most clearly by the following extract from his minute of the 3rd February 1790 * :—

‘By reserving the collection of the internal duties on commerce, Government may at all times appropriate to itself a share of the accumulating wealth of its subjects, without their being sensible of it. *The burden will also be more equally distributed ; at present the whole weight rests upon the landholders and cultivators of the soil, whereas, the merchants and inhabitants of the cities and towns, the proprietors of rent-free lands, and, in general, all persons not employed in the cultivation of the lands paying revenue to Government, contribute but little in proportion to their means, to the exigencies of the State.*†

It is manifest from these words that Lord Cornwallis considered the land-tax of Bengal to be an *unequal* tax, because there was nothing equivalent to it levied upon those who were not proprietors of land. Now we have already seen that, according to Mr. Mill, a land-tax, which is of the nature of a rent-charge, and not of a true tax, *cannot possibly be condemned as an unequal tax upon landholders*, on the ground of there not being any equivalent tax levied upon the other classes of the community. And contrast, if you like, the sentiment of Lord Cornwallis, that the land-tax of Bengal was an unjust and unequal burden upon the proprietors of land, with the opinion expressed by Mr. Mill, that, “in Bengal, where the State, though entitled to the whole rent of the land, gave away one-tenth of it to individuals, retaining the other nine-tenths, those nine-tenths cannot be regarded as an unequal and unjust tax on the grantees of the tenth”‡ ; and say whether Lord Cornwallis thought, like Mr. Mill, that the land-tax of Bengal was only a rent-charge and not a tax. If, indeed, Lord

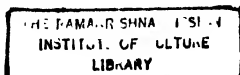
* App. to the Fifth Report, p. 624.

† *Political Economy*, Book. v, ch. ii,

† The italics are ours

sec. 6.

1167.



Cornwallis had regarded the land-tax of Bengal as only a rent-charge reserved by the State as a joint-proprietor of land with the landholders, he would, instead of calling it an unequal impost which required to be counterbalanced by increased charges upon merchants, traders and the like, have considered *the little that was contributed by these latter* as an unequal payment. Moreover, the land-tax of Bengal seemed to Lord Cornwallis to be a *weight* upon the zemindars. But could it have appeared to him as a weight upon the zemindars, if he had understood it to be only a portion of the rent of the soil belonging to the State as a joint-proprietor of land with those by whom it was paid? Even Mr. Mill would answer this question in the negative. We are precluded then from saying that Lord Cornwallis regarded the land-tax of Bengal as a rent-charge. We cannot help believing that the land-tax of Bengal was considered by the framer of the permanent settlement to be a veritable tax.

Before drawing from the proposition which we have just established the inferences which we are entitled to deduce from it, we think it proper to make the following observations. Adam Smith, though he considered a tax upon land which did not affect any other source of income, as an unjust and unequal impost, was still of opinion that the proprietors of land ought to be taxed more largely than any other class of men. "Both ground-rents and the ordinary rent of land," says that eminent thinker, "are a species of revenue which the owner, in many cases, enjoys without any care or attention of his own. Though a part of this revenue should be taken from him in order to defray the expenses of the State, no discouragement will thereby be given to any sort of industry. Ground-rents, and the ordinary rent of land are, therefore, perhaps the species of revenue which can best bear to have a peculiar tax imposed upon them."* This doctrine has been strongly assailed by Mr. Ricardo,† on the ground that it is inconsistent with the maxim of equality of taxation—a fresh proof that Ricardo did not think, like Mr. Mill, that a peculiar tax upon land was perfectly unexceptionable. But, in deference to the teachings of the generality of economists and statesmen, we would concede, as a matter of equity and good policy, but not, as Mr. Mill says, of justice, that landholders ought to contribute more largely to the expenses of the State than any other class of the community. Now, it is particularly worthy of remark that the land-tax of Lord Cornwallis was a tax of 90 per cent on the entire rent derived from land at that time—not a very light tax certainly, and and one which Adam Smith himself, notwith-

* M'Culloch's Adam Smith, Book v, ch. ii, art. i, p. 380.

† *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*, second ed., ch. xiv.

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standing his advocacy of peculiar charges upon land, would have condemned as exorbitant and oppressive. Lord Cornwallis on his part was perfectly aware that he had assessed the landholders of Bengal with unusual severity, and we, perhaps, cannot realize to ourselves the severity of that assessment better than by considering that, even if the profit allowed to the zemindar by Lord Cornwallis is taken to have increased, on an average, five-fold* in the seventy-seven years that have elapsed since the date of the settlement, the land-tax is still a tax of no less than sixty-four per cent on the entire rent collected by the zemindars. Surely, a 64 per cent land-tax, not to speak of a tax of 90 per cent, is a far heavier charge upon land than has at any time existed in any other part of the world.

Knowing then, as we do, that Lord Cornwallis regarded the land-tax of Bengal as a true tax, we ought to ask ourselves whether, in fixing the assessment upon land at a rate which he admitted to be unusually high and oppressive, it could have been his intention to empower future Governments to impose additional taxes upon men who seemed to him to be groaning under burdens at once most unjust and unequal. We ought not to rest satisfied without enquiring whether the administrator, who evinced an ardent solicitude to equalize the burdens of the zemindars by laying additional charges upon all who were not proprietors of land, did intend to invest future Governments with the power of imposing fresh burdens upon those very men who were the special objects of his pity and commiseration. Now, we find that Mr. Shore, in his minute of the 8th December 1789, objected, *1stly*, to notifying to the land-holders that the decennial settlement would be made perpetual; *2ndly*, to making any settlement *perpetual*; *3rdly*, to retaining the clause proposed by Mr. Law, and, *4thly*, to taking into the hands of Government the collection of the internal duties on commerce. Lord Cornwallis, it is particularly worthy of remark, wrote his minute of the 3rd of February 1790 with the sole purpose of refuting such of these objections as appeared to him untenable. After saying that there was no harm in notifying to the land-holders that the decennial settlement would be made perpetual, and that such a notification had been accordingly made in "the several collectorships of Behar and in the collectorship of Midnapore in Orissa," the noble Marquis observes as follows:—

* This assumption does not seem to be much below the mark. Babu Rajendralala Mitra, in a letter to the Magistrate of the 24 Pergunnahs, published in the *Indian Daily News* of 2nd September 1868, and re-published in the *Calcutta Gazette* of 20th July 1870, proves that it would be

rather too much to say that the profits of the zemindars have, on an average, increased five-fold. We are not prepared to accept the Babu's statement as conclusive; but that it is not altogether without some force is clear from the fact that the Lieutenant-Governor has treated it as correct

‘I now come to the two remaining points on which I have differed from Mr. Shore, and the final decision regarding which must rest with the Honorable Court of Directors, *viz.*, the expediency of declaring the decennial settlement permanent, and appointing officers on the part of Government to collect the internal duties on commerce.’

Lord Cornwallis does not state that he differed from Mr. Shore in thinking that the clause proposed by Mr. Law was objectionable, and that is conclusive proof that he was opposed to the retention of that clause. The man, who entertained so much respect for the opinions of Mr. Shore as to think it necessary to refer to the Court of Directors every point upon which he happened to differ from him, would not have passed over in silence the objections made by Mr. Shore to the taxation clause proposed by Mr. Law, unless he had agreed with the former in thinking that the clause was inconsistent with the meaning of a fixed and perpetual assessment.

It is now only necessary for us to make three observations: The *first* is, that the fact of Lord Cornwallis having regarded the land-tax of Bengal as a true tax completely breaks down the argument that the settlement of 1793, having reference only to the claim possessed by the State as a joint-proprietor of land with the zemindars to a portion of the rent of the soil, places the question of taxation on an independent footing. The *second* is, that the failure of this argument, considered in connection with the history of the clause proposed by Mr. Law, proves beyond all manner of doubt that it was never the intention of the Government of Lord Cornwallis that the zemindars should at any future time be subjected to any general tax or special cess. And the *third* is, that, apart from the considerations furnished by the history of the rent-charge doctrine, the mere omission of the clause proposed by Mr. Law from Article VII, Regulation I of 1793, after it had been strenuously opposed by two such men as Mr. Shore and Mr. Francis, proves most clearly that the idea of future taxation was rejected by Lord Cornwallis.

We will now discuss briefly the philosophy of the doctrine of rent-charge. Such a discussion is not strictly necessary for the purposes of this essay; but it will not, we think, be altogether irrelevant in this place.

Mr. Mill thinks that “wherever and in so far as income derived from land is prescriptively subject to a deduction for public purposes, beyond the rate of taxation levied on other incomes, the surplus is not properly taxation, but a share of the property in the soil reserved by the State.” That the *surplus* might be regarded as a “share of the property in the soil reserved by the State” cannot be questioned; but the point to be determined is, whether any construction which we might possibly

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put upon any old custom or usage would express its real meaning and intention. Modern scholars have attempted to prove that the *Iliad* of Homer is a great allegory, but the attempt has been ridiculed by eminent men of letters* as being in the highest degree distasteful and absurd. And why? Simply because it implies the re-placing of the simple and natural inspiration of the ancients by the pompous but metaphysical scholarship of the moderns. The educated Bengali, versed in the literature and philosophy of the West, detects in the injunctions of Hindu superstition a consummate knowledge of all those sciences, physical and metaphysical, which have sprung up in Europe only since the commencement of the eighteenth century. The absurdity of all such attempts is nothing more or less than the absurdity of making the creatures of one era creatures of another and a wholly different era. And something like this absurdity is implied in Mr. Mill's doctrine of rent-charge. For when Mr. Mill says that wherever land is prescriptively subject to peculiar burdens, those peculiar burdens are to be regarded as a rent-charge, he not only ignores the vast diversities in the origin and character of social and political institutions, but virtually asserts that the ancients, who imposed those burdens, imposed them with a full knowledge of Adam Smith's principle of equal taxation, that, in fact, our oldest ancestors were perfect masters of the peculiarly modern sciences of finance and political economy. But it behoves us to consider that political institutions, in the early stages of society, owe their origin not so much to the influence of intellectual ideas as to the influence of selfish passions and external circumstances. It is true that in most Asiatic countries, and in India amongst others, the land has been regarded from very remote times as the principal source of public revenue; but that circumstance in itself furnishes no ground for supposing that our Aryan ancestors, who lived a life not very dissimilar to that of the denizens of the backwoods of America, thought like the metaphysical free-thinkers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, that the earth is the peculiar property of the public, and that whoever takes more land than is actually necessary for his bare subsistence, takes it subject to a public lien. On the contrary, it seems to us more rational to believe that the financial systems of primæval communities were determined solely by a consideration of the principal sources of wealth existing in those times, than that the abstract metaphysical ideas of the present age had any share in their formation. India, till a very recent period, was a purely agricultural country, and its population consisted

* See W. H. Prescott's Essay on Cervantes.

almost entirely of husbandmen. Even now, when the influence of English commerce has been felt for nearly a century, the agricultural classes form the great majority of the population of this country. Under these circumstances, it seems to be far more reasonable to believe that the heavy and almost exclusive charges upon land in this country were owing solely to the fact that agriculture was the only source of wealth possessed by our ancestors than to credit the simple Hindu of the pre-historic age with the financial wisdom of a Patterson and the economic conceptions of a Mill. Mr. Mill, indeed, says that a tax upon land is to be regarded as a rent-charge when "there are no peculiar taxes on other classes corresponding to or intended to countervail the land-tax." But this doctrine, besides being of a purely metaphysical character, seems to be entirely inapplicable in a country like India, where, it would not be too much to say, none other than agricultural classes have ever existed. The traders and shop-keepers, who constituted an infinitesimal portion of the population, *did* contribute to the expenses of the State. Their contribution was indeed very small. But when it is considered that agriculture was the principal source of wealth in ancient India, and the source of wealth to almost every individual in the community, it is impossible to resist the conviction that trading as a source of wealth was practically ignored, and the traders themselves regarded by the State as men who were unfit to bear the burden of public expenditure. That they were taxed at all, rather proves that a sort of nominal equality was sought to be established in the matter of taxation, sufficient to satisfy the rough sense of justice entertained by primitive and semi-civilized communities.

It might be argued with some degree of plausibility that the land-tax in England is not a true tax, but only a rent charge. And the reason is that, according to the principles of feudalism, the kings of England were the only true proprietors of land. In India, however, except in some of the Rajputana States, nothing like the feudal system ever existed, nor did the Muhammadan conquerors of the country declare themselves lords of the soil.* But instead of discussing for ourselves whether the soil of India was the property of its sovereigns or not, it would, we think, be of some use to know how those Englishmen who concluded the permanent settlement, solved this

* In making this remark, we do not mean to say that the zemindars were the true proprietors of land. On the contrary, we think that the zemindar's claim to be considered as the real landlord to the absolute exclusion of the cultivator is most

unfounded and unreasonable. The greatest mistake committed by Lord Cornwallis was, not that he regarded the land-tax of Bengal as a true tax, but that he invested the zemindar with a right which was not exclusively his own.

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question. A single extract, at this stage of our essay, will be, we think, sufficient. We accordingly quote the following words from a note added to Mr. Francis's minute of the 22nd January 1776 :—

‘The inheritable quality of the lands is alone sufficient to prove that they are the property of the zemindars, talookdars and others, to whom they have descended by a long course of inheritance. The right of the sovereign is founded on conquest, by which he succeeds only to the state of the conquered prince ; unless, in the first instance, he resolves to appropriate or transfer all private property, by an act of power, in virtue of his conquest. So barbarous an idea is equally inconsistent with the manners and policy of the British nation. When the Moguls conquered Bengal, there is no mention, in any historical account, that they dispossessed the zemindars of their lands, though it is frequently observed that where they voluntarily came in and submitted to the new Government, they were received with marks of honour, and that means were used to gain and secure their attachment. Only two motives could have induced the conqueror to such an act of violence as changing the property of the land : favour or money. In the first case his followers and companions claiming their share in his success would have been most likely to obtain possession of the lands, and some traces of their descendants would be found at present. If money had been his object, the Musalman historians would have made mention of the sums so acquired, as they carefully and pompously mention the value of all acquisitions made by their kings or generals.’

After all, we feel no hesitation in saying that practical and conscientious statesmen ought not to adopt any financial measure in this country on the strength of the distinction which Mr. Mill has drawn between a tax and a rent-charge. To do so would be to give effect to a theory of which the least that can be said is, that it is under any circumstances questionable ; and becomes peculiarly doubtful in its application to a country like India, the history of which, to use the language of an eminent judge of the High Court,* “notoriously rests upon most imperfect materials.”

We fear we have been guilty almost of sacrilege in presuming to question the correctness of a theory which has for its advocate England's greatest living thinker. And, certainly, we should have shrunk from what must appear to everybody as a perilous attempt, had it not been that Mr. Mill, by allowing many of his economic speculations to be influenced by his extreme democratic sympathies, has necessarily, though most unwittingly, deprived the former of that value and force which would undoubtedly have belonged to them, had they been a purely scientific interpretation of social phenomena. Everybody knows into what extra-

* See Mr. Justice Phear's decision in the great Kent Case.

vagance Mr. M'Culloch has been led by his partial fondness for aristocratic principles in his advocacy of the law of primogeniture; and we think that those who have studied carefully Mr. Mill's defence of *la petite culture* and the French law of inheritance, will not think that what we have said regarding his failing as a philosopher is altogether erroneous. Science, which is based upon fact and history, must lose all its value and distinctive character if it is made to subserve political purposes.

IV. We trust we have proved to the satisfaction of our readers that the distinction between a tax and a rent-charge, upon which the Secretary of State for India has based his order for the imposition of local cesses upon the zemindars of Bengal, was not known to the authors of the permanent settlement. We have also found that neither the clause proposed by Mr. Law, nor anything expressive of its meaning, was introduced into Regulation I of 1793. We will now ask the reader to peruse the following extract from the preamble to Regulation XXVII of 1793:—

‘Experience having at length proved that prohibitory orders for preventing oppression were not attended with the desired effect, it was determined, on the 11th June 1790, to take from the landholders the power of imposing and collecting duties altogether, and to exercise this privilege immediately and exclusively on the part of Government. The consequences of this measure were expected to be the effectual abolition of many vexatious duties on articles of internal manufacture and consumption, as well as on exports and imports, the suppression of many petty monopolies and exclusive privileges which had been secretly continued to the great prejudice of the lower orders of people, and as the natural effects of the reform of these abuses, benefit to trade, and ease to the inhabitants of the country in general. *A further consequence expected from the exercise of this privilege was a future opportunity of augmenting the public revenue in case the exigencies of Government should render it indispensably necessary, without increasing the assessment on the land.*’ *

These are the sentiments of the Government of Lord Cornwallis—the very same Government which effected the permanent settlement. Now, the words just quoted, although they do not expressly forbid the imposition of taxes upon the zemindars of Bengal, bear a constructive signification which is peculiarly decisive on that point. Mr. Law, as we have seen, proposed “that the land revenue of the whole of the Company’s territorial possessions in Bengal, Behar and Orissa be fixed once for ever, subject only to a proportionate general addition when required by the exigencies of Government.” But this proposal was not adopted. And now we find Lord Cornwallis himself providing in one of his own regulations, almost in the terms employed by

* The italics are ours.

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Mr. Law, for the future necessities of the State. Mr. Law proposed that the zemindars should be subjected to general taxes, if required "by the *exigencies of Government*;" Lord Cornwallis provides for an augmentation of the public revenue "in case the *exigencies of Government* should render it indispensably necessary." Whatever be the nature of the provision made by Lord Cornwallis, it is perfectly clear that he has provided for the same thing for which Mr. Law drew up his taxation-clause; that his provision is identical in purpose with the proposal made by Mr. Law. Mr. Law's clause cannot be found in any one of the regulations of the Bengal Code, but the very same contingency which that clause was intended to meet has been provided for by Lord Cornwallis. If then the provision made by Lord Cornwallis be found to be different from the plan suggested by Mr. Law, should we not be perfectly justified in saying that Lord Cornwallis's provision absolutely precludes the imposition of taxes upon the zemindars, which was the measure proposed by Mr. Law? Should we not, at least, be justified in presuming that the idea of taxing the zemindars did not recommend itself to the man who regarded the land-tax of Bengal as an unequal, unjust and oppressive burden on the land-owning class? It would seem that a mind, free, in an ordinary measure, from sophistry, could come to no other conclusion than this. Now what is the particular provision made by Lord Cornwallis? It is not that the zemindars should be subjected to general taxes, but that the duties on commerce and internal traffic should be imposed and collected by Government itself. If then we recollect that Lord Cornwallis regarded the land-tax of Bengal as a veritable tax, and that he fixed that tax at a rate which he himself felt to be exorbitant and oppressive, the making of this *particular* provision for the supply of future administrative necessities, to the exclusion of the clause proposed by Mr. Law, will appear to be an estoppel in the way of our asserting that it was the intention of the noble framer of the permanent settlement that the zemindars of Bengal should be subjected to any future general burdens of the empire. That this was not his intention, is also proved by his minute of 3rd February 1790, and the preamble to Regulation XXIII of 1793, to which we beg to refer our readers.

Although the Duke of Argyll has decided the cess question in a manner which amounts to a virtual abrogation of the permanent settlement, he is, it must be allowed, perfectly unconscious of the extent to which he has gone, and is apparently of opinion that it would be a gross breach of faith to interfere in any way with a measure to which Lord Cornwallis gave a promise of perpetual adherence. There are, however, those who think that a fixed and permanent assessment is bad in principle

and politically void. This doctrine strikes at the root of the most formidable difficulty in the way of imposing any tax or cess upon the zemindars of Bengal ; and, although not maintained by the Duke of Argyll or any one of the Governments which are subordinate to him, it is yet, we think, deserving of mention on the present occasion. It is said that a perpetual assessment is bad in principle because it may injure the interests of the public by preventing the State from taxing the increasing wealth of its subjects for useful or necessary purposes, and politically void not only because no Government has power to bind all succeeding Governments, but also because it amounts, as Mr. Thornton says,* to ordaining that, "on the occurrence of any extraordinary circumstances of difficulty or danger the State should be dissolved." Of these objections, the one first stated seems to us to be deserving of some consideration ; the others are of little moment. But without entering into any disquisition which must necessarily be too long for the tail of an article, we will prove by quotations from the writings of men who must be regarded as the very highest authorities on questions like this, that there is no great weight even in the objection that a permanent assessment is bad in principle because it prevents the State from availing itself of the increasing wealth of the community. Mr. M'Culloch, in his chapter on the "Government, Revenue and Commerce of India," contained in his Supplemental Notes and Dissertations, in his edition of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, makes the following remark :—

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'It should be observed in treating of these matters, that the principles involved in the perpetual settlement are one thing, while the mode in which they are introduced is another and a totally different thing. The former, which we incline to think were unexceptionable, fixed at once and for ever the Government demand upon the land ; and supposing Government had dealt directly with the cultivators, without the intervention of middle-men or zemindars, this fixedness of the public demand could not fail, had it been reasonable, to have been an immense boon to the occupiers, that is, to the great bulk of the population.

* * *

The only objection worth notice that can be made to the limitation of the assessment on land, proceeds on the assumption that it may be injurious to the public interests by cutting off Government from all participation in that increased value of the land, which may be expected to result from the construction of railways and other improved means of communication, and so forth. But it will not prevent Government from participating in the greater wealth of the cultivators. According as their circumstances improve, so will their consumption of foreign and other articles be extended ; and by subjecting these to a well devised system of taxation, a far larger amount of revenue will be

* See Thornton's *History of British India*, vol. ii, p. 525.

realized than it is at all probable would be realized from a mere increase of the assessment on land."

The greatest of Scotch economists is clearly of opinion that a perpetual settlement, though it may be liable to objection when it assumes any one form in preference to any other, is entirely right in principle. And we could not, we think, have a more authoritative enunciation of this doctrine than is furnished by the following words of Edmund Burke, found in a letter written by him to his son on the subject of the perpetual settlement of Bengal, and quoted by Mr. Harington with perfect approbation in his excellent *Analysis of the Bengal Regulations* :—*

'The idea of forcing everything to an artificial equality has something at first view very captivating in it. It has all the appearance imaginable of justice and good order; and very many persons, without any sort of practical purpose have been led to adopt such schemes, and pursue them with great earnestness and warmth. I am, for one, entirely satisfied that the inequality which grows out of the nature of things by time, custom, succession, accumulation, permutation, and improvement of property, is much nearer that true equality which is the foundation of equity and just policy than anything that could be contrived by the tricks and devices of human skill. What does it amount to, but that, after some little jumbling, some men have better estates than others? I am certain that when the financial system is but tolerably planned, it will catch property in spite of all its doublings; and, sooner or later, those who have most will pay most; and this is the effective equality which circumstances will bring about themselves, if they are left to their own operation.'

The statement that a permanent assessment is null and void, because it amounts to ordaining that, on the occurrence of any great financial difficulty, the State should be dissolved, is theoretically unexceptionable. But it is particularly worthy of notice that there are many things which look very specious in theory, but imply little or nothing when they are considered from a practical point of view. The land is only one out of a thousand different sources of public revenue, and certainly it does not sound very plausible to say that, if the State were to fix the assessment on land, it would be decreeing its own dissolution. There was a time when the land was almost the only source of the public revenue of England; it is now the source of only "a fiftieth of the ordinary revenue required in time of peace"!† It would not, we think, be too much to say that the administration of England would not feel the slightest difficulty or inconvenience, if the land in that country were henceforth exempted from all taxation whatever. The land, too, was once the only considerable

* See vol. ii, p. 194.

† See Macaulay's *History of Eng-*

land, People's Edition, vol. iii, p. 383.

source of public revenue in India. It still retains its importance, but the revenue it yields is now only a fourth of the entire revenue of the State. And, if we only consider that India has yet to learn to be industrious—that she has yet to know what commerce and manufactures mean—it will be seen that our Government can never be jeopardised by fixing the land revenue for ever. The theoretical objection to a perpetual settlement seems to be devoid of all practical force.

Lastly, whether any particular Government has or has not the power to bind all succeeding Governments, is a question which, notwithstanding the importance assigned to it by a writer in the *Westminster Review*,* seems to us to be of a very trivial nature. There are instances, besides that which is furnished by the Permanent Settlement of Bengal, where Governments have been seen to declare that their enactments shall subsist to the end of time. Edward III. passed a law forbidding his subjects to send abroad any staple goods, “under penalty of death and confiscation,” and further enacting “that the law should be unalterable either by himself or his successors.” The English land-tax has been rendered permanent by 38 Geo. III., and the land revenue of Belgium has been recently settled once for all. These are only instances of permanent legislation, and are by no means cited by us with a view of claiming absolute immunity for the permanent settlement of Bengal. We quote these cases only to show that the permanent settlement is not a measure unique of its kind—that it has had its legislative analogies in some of the most civilized countries of Europe,—a fact, the disregard of which has of late produced a good deal of flippant criticism. As to the doctrine that no Government has power to bind all succeeding Governments, we would simply state that, taken by itself, it furnishes no reason for abrogating a law. It seems to us that a law cannot be altered or abolished simply because the Government which passed it, declared that it would be observed not only by itself but by all those Governments which might succeed it. We can imagine a measure which the Legislature intended to be permanent in its duration and which at the same time is based upon some immutable principle of natural justice. It would certainly be a dangerous mistake to alter or repeal such a law, on the ground that the Government which passed it had no power to bind its successors. On the other hand, we do not hesitate to say that a mere legislative guarantee of permanence is no reason for maintaining a law which has become repugnant to the existing order of things. It must, we think, be conceded by everybody that, if any measure to which a pledge of permanence has been given by any particular Government,

* See Number, for July 1870, Art. *Indian Taxation—Lord Cornwallis's Land Settlement.*

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requires to be altered or abolished, in consequence of the inevitable wants of society, it would be simply impossible to observe the pledge, because the will of a few men of finite intelligence, possessing only a factitious and conventional authority, cannot withstand the irresistible tide of progress. Lord Cornwallis, indeed, has declared his assessment to be fixed and perpetual ; but should that assessment be found to be an obstacle in the way of satisfying the demand of a population of forty millions of men for knowledge and social emancipation, who will not exclaim—Let the assessment be set aside? So long as the permanent settlement does us no injury, it would surely be unjust to call for its abrogation simply because it is a *permanent* settlement. The moment it becomes a national grievance, it will have lived out its normal and legitimate term of existence, and no logic will then be necessary to argue it into death. Whether the permanent settlement *has* become a national evil or not, is a question which it is not for us to discuss in this place. It is a very grave question, and one which cannot be considered too carefully. It has not yet, however, been formally taken up either by the public or by the Government for discussion, and, therefore, no case has been, up to this time, made out for the imposition of taxes upon the zemindars of Bengal.

C. N. BOSE.

NOTE.—Although we are unable to agree in all the writer's conclusions, the above paper is so well-written, and so ably expresses a view of the cess question which the Blue Book lately published shows to be still held by high authorities even in England, that we should not feel justified in refusing it a place in a Review which is admittedly open to all shades of opinion. It seems to us, moreover, that, in the discussion of large questions of public policy like that under notice, the opinion of educated native gentlemen is always entitled to a respectful hearing.—*Ed., Calcutta Review.*

IN MEMORIAM.

ANOTHER light gone out on Glory's steep,
 Another lofty chieftain sunk to rest—
 Reft from our gaze, he sleeps his last long sleep,
 In that fair land his ruling wisdom blest.

And we behold him, sanctified by death,
 A soldier-statesman of heroic type,
 Round whose grand brows fair gleamed the golden wreath
 Of mellow forethought and experience ripe.

True to himself, his country, and his God,
 Wearing high Thought's white armour, free from blame,
 Thro' storms of war and toils of peace he trod,
 With no uncertain steps, th' ascent of Fame.

No sager counsel CHATHAM did unfold
 Than his grave utterance in the Hall of State ;
 No calmer courage thrilled the Knights of old
 Than fired the heart that glowed at GHUZNEE's gate.

So, when his praise waxed loud from shore to shore,
 The long-tried champion of the public weal,
 Well might his foemen of the days of yore
 Welcome the Ruler worthy of their steel !

Peace to his memory ! Nor shall Time refuse
 His place among the great in that proud land ;
 Rich by his true life-service, nor the Muse
 Grudge the green laurel to her own DURAND.

C. K.

ART. II.—CHRISTIANITY AND THE BRAHMA SAMAJ.

1. *The Brahma Samaj*. Four Lectures by Keshub Chunder Sen ; with preface by Sophia Collett. London. 1870.
2. *An Essay in aid of a Grammar of Assent*. By J. H. Newman, D.D., of the Oratory.
3. *A Plea for Indian Missions*. By Alexander Forbes, Esq., late Editor of the *Bengal Hurkaru*. 1865.

THE encouraging reception given to Babu Keshub Chunder Sen in England is certainly remarkable as a sign of the times. He was welcomed as an ally of Christianity, and actually dubbed (much, we presume, to his own astonishment) pioneer of our creed in India. Yet, there is absolutely nothing new in his philosophical Unitarianism, except that it was preached by an Indian. Even the Babu's style and language remind one at once of Theodore Parker, while the whole current and colour of his ideas are Western, without any tinge of having been strained through an Asiatic imagination. It must be conjectured that the re-appearance, after so many centuries, of a wise man from the East may have stimulated the jaded fancies of English theologians.

Of course it is not hard to see why the Brahminist met with sympathy and patronage from that growing section of Protestants, to whom all dogmas and mysterious antique doctrines are more or less stumbling-blocks, to be softened down or decently pushed aside. Nevertheless we are still surprised that even the English Broad Church should expect any gain to Christianity in this country by fraternizing with this mild and misty theism. We shall even be alarmed if the alliance be cemented or only encouraged by the English in India. For we believe that the cause of missionary evangelization must be infinitely damaged and discredited by any such unnatural confederation. And we desire now to draw attention to this view of the question, because we think that the mere fact of the Babu having obtained such flattering notice from high dignitaries of the Anglican Church points to the weak side in our modern Protestant attitude toward heathendom. It is plain that, in a crusade against hostile creeds, everything depends on our countenance before the enemy, and on the position which we take up when going into action.

Let us look at one of Keshub Chunder Sen's latest lectures—*On the Future Church of India*—and try to discover whether his ideas and teaching give any promise of help to us, or even of internal life and growth. Our prophet rises superior to the "gross materialism" of ancient religions; he would "go

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out into the vast cathedral of nature and join the ever rising chorus of creation praising its Creator"; he would harmonize all systems of worship into the general adoration of One God; "tedious articles of faith and elaborate dogmas" will be reduced to a "simple belief" in God's goodness, &c. &c. As a specimen of this latter process, he explains that the primary and essential element of Hinduism is the quiet contemplation of God, while that of the Muhammadan faith is active service of Him. Eliminate all the overlying superstitions, refine down all concrete beliefs, extract and blend the two essences, and there you have the future creed of all India, warranted to stand the climate and to suit all Indian constitutions. The Indian of hereafter is to be a perfect compound of profound devotion and heroic enthusiasm. For although the lines upon which his future Church is planned seem cosmopolitan enough, yet the Brahmist stipulates that it shall be thoroughly national. "India shall sing the glory of the Supreme Lord with Indian voice and Indian accompaniments"—a metaphor that might provoke a smile, if we were in jesting mood.

Now, we have no right to criticise harshly these intellectual exertions, which are evidently written in earnest by one whose imitative faculties have been stimulated by English education. But when such men as Dr. Stanley at home take up Mr. Keshub Chunder Sen as a *harbinger* of Christianity; and when Dr. Norman Macleod expounds in Calcutta regarding the Indian Church of the future, that it will surely be a purely Indian Church, and not a reproduction of any of the established churches of the West; then we feel bound to protest that they are doing serious harm to the cause of Gospel propagation which they pretend to be trying to promote. If they do not think that British Protestantism (Episcopalian or Presbyterian) is ever likely to suit India as a national creed, they are probably right; but then would it not be as well to say this plainly to the well-meaning subscribers of the £250,000 which is paid annually, as we are informed, for the Protestant conversion of India? The deliberate advice of leading churchmen and theologians upon such a matter would have immense effect. For at present all kinds of other reasons are given to account for the comparative failure of our exertions; whereas it would really seem as if after all we were not quite clear as to what we may be aiming at, or how much we shall be contented with; as if there were a lurking inclination to hedge on Brahminism as a good make-shift, or *pis aller*, upon which religious reformers may fall back when they despair of winning with Christianity. If this kind of half-measure be the object, then our Broad Churchmen are at least logical. But we are convinced that it is the greatest possible delusion to hope that Brahminism can act in any manner

as a stepping-stone or half-way* house between paganism and Christianity. On the contrary, we are certain that any encouragement given to its vague, though eloquent, teachings does only exaggerate and intensify the very defects which have now for a century made Protestant missions so barren of fruits.

For, let any one consider closely the nature and complexion of religions which have encompassed the hearts of great nations, and let him review historically their origin and progress; he will perceive that a faith which contains mere pious fervent sentiments and high moral doctrines has never, *as such*, taken hold of an entire people. Just such a faith has usually been preserved, in all ages of culture, by the refined intellectual few, but always in opposition to the popular creed, of which it only bears a sort of double-distilled aroma, enough to indicate its origin. Now, Christianity in the days when it increased and flourished, when it fought its way upward from the lowest ranks, and prevailed mightily over fanaticism and barbarism, over Roman Emperors and Gothic Chiefs, over oracles and Pontiffs, in those days it was essentially a belief in concrete facts. There was continual dissension as to the exact nature and number of things necessary to be believed; but the first apostles and missionaries always knew perfectly well what they wanted; their object was clear to them as sunlight; they made no truce with philosophic pagans, nor bargain with national peculiarities. They split up into sects; but the penal clause of the Athanasian Creed may be taken to express precisely the sentiment of each sect as to the importance of its own orthodoxy. "He that believeth not shall be damned," says the ancient interpolator on St. Mark's Gospel. "You must keep our faith whole and undivided, or without doubt you will perish everlastingly," repeat the framers of the Athanasian confession. Here is a plain message and warning to all men; the purest moralities are in no wise forgotten, but, first and foremost, the heathen are told that certain events happened, and certain things exist, which must be absolutely and unflinchingly accepted as truth. If there be some foundation for the

* Since this sentence was written, we have found the word 'half-way' used, with exactly the meaning which we here deprecate, by the Bishop of Calcutta in a speech at Bombay in December 1870. But the general spirit of the passage, which we quote below, is excellent:—

"When the truth came to them, they were willing to question; they did not rest in their prejudices, their superstitions, their idolatries: they did not rest in any half-way house, as I may say, such as I think is offered to you

by some forms of science, and I must say, with all respect, in the Brahma Samaj Society. They were not satisfied, except with that truth which revealed to them the eternity before them—which either solved those mysteries and problems of their nature, or else declared them to be insoluble—which taught them to commit themselves to the hands of the living God—that High God who is their refuge, and underneath are the Everlasting Arms."

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assertion that Roman Catholic missions have always been the most successful, if those missionaries have shown greater unwavering self-devotion to the work ; the causes may be traced, we believe, to the fact that their church still demands from them this implicit credence in her dogmatic propositions—this firm, undoubting assent to statement of concrete fact. The Roman Catholic church takes high ground. She says—If you cannot trust in my infallibility, you are no Catholic at all ; if you can, you are saved by that trust, and you can save others. This bold uncompromising assertion conquers the hearts of simple men, and excites their imagination ; they go forth and endure all things. The Roman Church would reject with contumely Mr. Chunder Sen's benevolent patronage of Christianity ; she would turn her back upon him altogether, and the act would be dignified and consistent. She would say—You deny all my cardinal articles of faith ; I will have none of you ; it is impossible that we can have anything in common ; I can offer you no encouragement. You are a mere intellectual will-of-the-wisp, rising over the slough of pagan despond, that will flicker and disappear shortly like hundreds of similar exhalations. Moreover, your theories are only a shade better than the pure intellectual atheism which is 2,000 years old, at least, in this country—the Sankhya philosophy—and to that your disciples will surely come, sooner or later. For the deist believes that the true and only revelation of God to man is that which is written on the heart.

‘But then it occurs to him that this inward moral law is there within the heart, whether there be a God or not, and that it is a round-about way of enforcing that law, to say that it comes from God, and simply unnecessary ; and that when he turns to look at the physical world around him, he really does not see what scientific proof there is of the being of God at all ; and it seems to him that all things will go on quite as well as at present without this hypothesis ; so he drops it, and becomes a *purus putus* atheist.’*

Thus speaks the champion of Roman Catholicism, and it must be admitted that, right or wrong, his trumpet sends forth no uncertain sound. But what shall we say of Protestants who betray by word and action a kind of desire to parley with the enemy against whom they have set their camp, or a hope that some compromise may be effected ? who go about making themselves agreeable to every decent moralizer whom they meet ; cheerfully discovering points of agreement ; good-naturedly sinking little doctrinal differences which breed strife ; keeping back the positive articles of Christian faith as if they were a little ashamed of such old-world credulity, and politely acknowledging that Indian Churches cannot be expected to be like English or Scotch institu-

tions. It is ill taking the breeks off a Highlander ; but Dr. Norman Macleod will have to strip himself very bare of dogma before he gets even his Presbyterian Church into a true *concordat* with Brahminism, or any national Church of the Bengalis.

Our readers will bear constantly in mind that we are now measuring the strength and weakness of different Christian Churches only in their tactics against heathendom ; and we are fain to confess that, upon this face of the position occupied by Protestants, it is not well suited for aggressive strategy. There is wanting in our creed what Dr. Newman calls the *indefectibility of certitude*. The Protestant will not accept any theological decisions as infallible ; he applies to them all the test of human reason. You cannot be absolutely sure that the Pope is infallible, unless you set up as infallible yourself, say our English Divines ; and J. S. Mill adds that all the worst blunders and crimes in history have been committed just because people thought that, in religion at least, they could act with the certainty of being right. Such considerations need not affect a Protestant's firm belief in his own individual tenets, but they are in his way when he undertakes to convince an unbeliever ; they are even serious hindrances if he puts these tolerant principles into practice, and at the outset of his enterprise fraternizes with men who deny all his distinctive doctrines.

If we were to attempt to rival Babu Keshub Chunder Sen in his endeavour to extract and exhibit the essential spirits of the two great Indian religions, we should say that the basis of Hinduism is timidity, and of the Muhammadan religion vigour. The Hindu worships and propitiates everything that can possibly do him any harm ; as a rule, he chooses one god as his tutelary deity, and that one is usually Siva the malignant, but he fears to neglect any other, and prostrates himself hastily before any shrine to which he may have given accidental offence. Compare this habitual feeling with that inculcated by traditional Christianity ; nay, compare it with the early Protestant spirit, or with the sentiment of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, with Christian doing battle against Apollyon, and Greathcart slaying the pagan giants. Observe how the Christian Church defies the Devil and all his works, and how the Roman Church, more especially, allows no quarter to Satan, but proclaims endless war. Even the Muhammadans have never kept up that mortal hostility to *Shaitan* and the evil genii which the old Church of Rome showed in its furious detestation of witchcraft ; for the Musalmans permit considerable dabbling in what they call the 'white art' of sorcery. Whereas the mediæval priesthood most resolutely denounced all attempts to conciliate the powers of the air as high treason against God, a treating with the King's enemies, a want of reliance upon His sovereign power and universal

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dominion. We conceive that the Protestant ecclesiastics have never (except, perhaps, in Scotland) been thus violent against the sin of witch-craft; and there is a certain indulgent weakness toward Satan clearly perceptible throughout the whole of *Paradise Lost*,* of which work Colenso truly observes that it has got inextricably mixed up with the Bible as a sacred history in the minds of a vast number of Englishmen. Now, to us it appears evident that what the Hindu religion most wants, must be above all things supplied by those who desire to convert Hindus; they must bring to the task a courageous unreasoning (not necessarily, unreasonable) certitude and a supreme authority in dogmatic theology; the first to re-assure this timid fetishism, the second to control Hindu credulity and ingenuity, to prevent it from running off again into the two opposite extremes of atheistic nihilism and innumerable tangled superstitions. Whether Anglican Protestantism at home needs these two qualifications, is a question which we do not raise; we merely say that without them she will make few proselytes in India. And this opinion is very forcibly urged upon the Missionary Association at Aberdeen in the address—*A Plea for Indian Missions*—which we have named at the head of this article. Mr. Forbes is assuredly not open to the imputation of showing tenderness toward Satan; on the contrary, he attributes to the direct agency of devils every social custom and religious rite of Bengal which is shocking to the decent Scotch mind. "Hindu widowhood is Satan's master-piece." Caste is the Devil's yoke. Jagannath and the Charak Puja were invented by devils. This is, we submit, not only to err in the other extreme by showing gross unfairness to Satan; but it betrays (curiously enough) a tendency toward that very superstitious polytheism which causes those practices which the lecturer is denouncing. Only the Hindu propitiates the Devil, while the Scotchman defies him.

Dr. Newman, in his *Grammar of Assent*, takes occasion to say that "Bible Religion is both the recognized title and the best description of English religion." He is far from undervaluing the "indiscriminate reading of Scripture," but he observes:—

'Still, much more is necessary to answer to the idea of a religion; whereas our national form professes to be little more than thus reading the Bible and leading a correct life. It is not a religion of persons and things, of acts of faith and direct devotion, but of sacred

* Arthur Helps tells us how some minister read to Lord Thurlow, by way of impressive religious instruction, Satan's great speech in Milton's first book. When he came to the line "Better to reign in Hell than serve in Heaven," Thurlow cried out

with much warmth:—"A d-d fine fellow, and I hope he may win." 'Satan was a Whig'—is the genuine lenient expression of ordinary English opinion upon the conduct of Milton's hero.

scenes and pious sentiments. It has been comparatively careless of creeds and catechism, and has consequently shown little sense of the need of consistency in its teaching. Its doctrines are not so much facts, as stereotyped aspects of facts, and it is afraid, so to say, of walking round them. It induces its followers to be content with this meagre view of revealed truth ; or, rather, it is suspicious and protests, or is frightened, as if it saw a figure in a picture move out of its frame, when Our Lord, the Blessed Virgin, or the Holy Apostles, are spoken of as real beings, really such as Scripture implies them to be.*

Now it will hardly be denied that this is to some extent a true description of religion as it is practised in England and Scotland ; for Dr. Newman (be it understood) treats* the Establishments as but two out of numerous insular sects. We only quote the passage here as throwing light on the principles at root of some systems of propagating the faith in India. One Madras mission works almost exclusively, though on a large scale, by simple distribution of Bibles in the vernacular, by selling them broadcast through colporteurs, without any comment or introduction, unless a special opportunity offers. Some Scotch missions have for years tried the experiment of not preaching at all, but of opening free schools, in the astounding expectation that mere secular teaching will incline the hearts of Indians to the Free Kirk. All this, we submit, shows a complete misapprehension of the nature of mission work ; and indeed Mr. Forbes undertakes to prove by actual figures that the Scotch teaching method has been almost wholly barren of results. To suppose that the Bible will itself by some talismanic energy convert men from false gods or from atheism, is to carry Dr. Newman's definition of Protestantism to its furthest extreme. To believe that mere secular education is to evangelization what a careful preparing of the soil is to actual sowing, is to proceed

* We append a newspaper extract, which shows that, as might be expected, even Bible religion is becoming too narrow for the freehuman intellect :—

RELIGIOUS INNOVATION IN EDINBURGH.—On October 16, Mr. Drummond (a Dissenting clergyman) of St. Mark's Chapel, Edinburgh, in introducing the second lesson, made the following announcement :—"It has been long deeply impressed on my mind that we lose a great deal by confining our public readings to the books commonly known as the Holy Scriptures. Besides, I think it is entirely inconsistent with the view of the character and nature of the Bible, which has been maintained in

this place at all events during the last quarter of a century, and certainly inconsistent with the view which is held by most or all of us. It is encouraging an erroneous and superstitious view of the nature of the Bible ; and besides, it is often extremely difficult to find in that book two really suitable lessons. For the future, therefore, while I shall so far conform to common custom as to take one lesson from the Bible (and probably I may often take both), I shall hold myself at liberty to select the second from any source that I may think proper." He then proceeded to read an extract from Emerson's essay entitled *Works and Days*,

upon the assumption that Christianity is a simple question of trained reasoning; whereas nothing can ever be gained by only stimulating disorderly natural impulses of the mind in those very departments of thought where ideas are most liable to perversion and where imagination is most apt to go astray. The paths of religion are numberless, especially in India. You set down a youth in this labyrinth, keeping the clue to yourself, and expect him to hit it off. He might do so if Protestantism were a faith to be reached by logic or a series of true inferences; but this is just what it never pretends, and never ought to pretend, to be. On this matter we quote again from Dr. Newman :—

‘The heart is commonly reached, not through the reason, but through the imagination, by means of direct impressions, by the testimony of facts and events, by history, by description. Persons influence us, voices melt us, looks subdue us, deeds inflame us. *Many a man will live and die upon a dogma; no man will be a martyr for a conclusion*. A conclusion is but an opinion. * * No man, I say, will die for his own calculations, he will die for realities. This is why a literary religion is so little to be depended on; it looks well in fair weather; but its doctrines are opinions, and when called to suffer for them, it slips them between its folios, or burns them at its hearth.

‘Logic makes but a sorry rhetoric with the multitude; first shoot round corners, and you may not despair of converting with a syllogism. Tell men to gain notions of a Creator from His works, and if they were to set about it (which nobody does), they would be jaded and wearied by the labyrinth which they were tracing. * * After all, man is not a reasoning animal, he is a seeing, feeling, contemplating, acting animal. * * Religion has ever been synonymous with revelation; * * it has ever been a message, a history, a vision. No legislator or priest ever dreamed of educating our moral nature by science or argument. There is no difference here between true religion and pretended. *Moses was instructed not to reason from the creation, but to work miracles. Christianity is a history supernatural, almost scenic*; it tells us what its Author is, by telling us what He has done.’

It should be mentioned that these are quotations from a letter written by Newman when he was a Protestant, which letter he has now reproduced in his *Grammar of Assent*. However, Protestant and Catholic will agree that the ground taken up by Dr. Newman is the only position from which missionaries can hope to act victoriously in an offensive campaign against other religions in India; for it is not reasonable to expect that a decent middle-class education, such as is given in Scotch mission schools at their best, will prepare heathen traders for the Gospel; or that a chapter out of St. Paul’s Epistles in indifferent Telugu will draw a Madras rustic nearer to salvation.* Still more irrational is it to hope that

* The subjoined extract from an Indian newspaper of November 1870 will

Babu Keshub Chunder's outpourings about the goodness of God can ultimately direct the intellectual classes (to say nothing of the vulgar) toward an apprehension of a creed which is attested by prophecy and miracles. The manifest inconsistency of these methods with the cardinal principles of those who employ them, and the incompatibility of such an alliance, must be fatal to the cause; the concessions which missionaries do thus virtually make, must undermine their foundations.

But let us venture to compare for a moment Mr. Sen's line of demonstration with Dr. Newman's. The Brahminist agrees with the Roman Catholic, that reason is insufficient as a base for religious convictions; but here they part company, for the former holds dogma to be standing-ground equally fallacious. "Do not preach to me dogmas and traditions," he cries with fervid declamation, "talk not to me of raising my soul by mere theological inferences and argument. * * * You may employ all means of spiritual

show that we do not exaggerate this curious phantasy:—

PROPAGATING THE FAITH.—A correspondent of the *Madras Observer* recommends the circulation of the tenets of Christianity by means of dropping printed tracts in the jungles and by road-sides, so that natives may pick them up and thus be induced to read them. This correspondent says, "I am aware that those best able to judge have come to the conclusion that selling religious works, even at the most nominal prices, is preferable to gratuitous distribution, as creating a greater interest in the articles thus obtained at some little trouble and cost; and it can be easily imagined that the dwellers in towns or large villages, with their many distractions, should care little for that which cost them nothing and could be had for the asking. But I submit that the gaily-covered tract, dropped by the road-side in the remote jungle by an isolated engineer or police officer, whose work calls him where such articles are unknown, would be eagerly appropriated by its unsophisticated finder—a herdsman, may be, taking out the village cattle to graze, or a ploughman proceeding to his field; would be perused with

interest by the accountant of his village, and read out by that one literate character in the hamlet to a curious and appreciative audience, assembled perhaps at the old village gate or round the public well. And, with the blessing of God, the seed thus sown by the wayside, and wafted to a virgin soil, might not be without its fruits. I add an apparently trivial but really important suggestion. The neatly bound tract, with its good paper and clear type, would doubtless appear to its finder as costly and as sumptuous an article as the most exquisitely bound table book would seem to the European, and the village poor would either be afraid to touch such an article lest it should get him into trouble with 'the Police,' or would carefully take it to the village officials as unclaimed property, or would possibly appropriate the book with the dishonest idea that he made illicit gain thereby. To remove such ideas, and to secure that the finder could keep his prize with a good conscience, all publications intended for wayside distribution should bear a distinct label, with some such words as these (of course in the local vernacular) 'The finder will please keep.'

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culture, but they are unprofitable without vivid faith." But how is this faith to be acquired? Listen—

'Are we not indebted to the objects around us for evidences of divine power, intelligence and mercy? *Do not the physical sciences give us better and higher conceptions of God and His government of the world than we could otherwise possess?* And are not our religious sentiments awakened and our hearts ennobled, by the contemplation of the vast starry convex above, the stupendous mountain, the deep unfathomable sea,† &c. &c. * * Nay, many a soul has been led away from scepticism, infidelity and immorality, by the wholesome influence of natural objects! * * That the material universe is a great religious teacher, that the sublime and beautiful in nature exercise a vast moral influence on the mind, few will deny.'

Dr. Newman, we have seen, denies it most flatly; so will most thinking men who judge by history, observation and experience. Naturally, religious men feel awed and subdued by the aspect of the world around them; but who ever really knew of a clever knave, or a poor sinful blockhead, being reclaimed from vice by the sight of the stars, or by grand scenery? Moreover, any logical Brahminist, who may unluckily be without an eye for the picturesque, must soon perceive that vivid faith in an unseen God is just as pure a dogma as faith in Christ's divinity; and thus he will soon find himself sliding down that *facilis descensus Avernî*, that easy slope toward atheism, which Dr. Newman has laid out for deists in one of our former quotations. Brahminism is literally anchored nowhere; it has no abiding place or set limits; and these very proclivities make it a most perilous connection for Protestantism, which has always been somewhat of a rolling-stone.

We have laid all this stress upon the futility of joining hands with Brahminism, or of uniting in any vague aspirations after a national Indian Church of some undefined order, because we believe that these are all symptoms of a tendency to attempt to introduce Christianity by a process of rounding off, smoothing down, and of general attenuation. Whereas we say that any such compromises must inevitably defeat their own object, because they betray hesitation and uncertainty, which are fatal in missionary enterprise as in war. We assume, of course, the object to be the conversion of Indians to a belief in the great facts taught by our churches, not the mere inculcation of higher moralities.

* This is Robert Montgomery (Macanlay's victim) in prose. Readers of one slaughterous critique upon him will remember the lines—

'O never did the dark-souled Atheist stand,

And watch the billows boiling on the strand,' &c.

But the whole Brahminist passage most reminds us of some of Eugene Aram's moralizing.

Whether evangelization can ever be accomplished to any extent by any force weaker than spontaneous enthusiasm and self-devotion, whether the most conscientious efforts of salaried preachers to do their duty can avail much—is the experiment which several Protestant Churches are now trying. But we have no doubt that such missionaries in India must, above all others, boldly assume the character of authoritative interpreters of an indubitable supernatural religion; in them there must be no varying, neither shadow of turning, and by that sign they *may* conquer. It is remarkable that Protestant missions are usually strict over enough on social questions, such as monogamy, re-marriage of converts, caste prejudices, and the like; and they thus kick needlessly against the stiffest points of Hinduism. For such punctiliousness they have no scriptural warrant; indeed, St. Paul's example is against it, and they might be lax in these matters much more safely than in their theology. For the Hindu has always been ready to listen to new doctrines; they are without any separate organized body of dogmatic teachers or spiritual guides; they have no sacred books purporting to emanate directly from Heaven and prescribing infallible articles of universal faith. They have a traditional ritual, but their popular religion is a mere *cultus*, or set of observances and instructions, laying down what is to be done and avoided. No defined hopes and fears guide the multitude; they are clear neither as to Heaven nor Hell. Hence they are continually looking out for new pastors and spiritual masters—for persons who shall come forward and interpret to them the Divine Will. Hence the infinite army of saints and thaumaturgists which is at this moment spread all over India. Hence the universal custom of electing a spiritual director, or of attaching one's self to the doctrines of some famous Hindu dissident—Kabir Pant, Chambusāpa, or Nānak. Whenever, indeed, there has arisen among this crowd of devout personages a man who added to asceticism and a spiritual kind of life that active intellectual originality which impels to the attack of old beliefs and the preaching of new ones, then a sect has been founded and a new light revealed.

We trust that we have managed to keep our readers upon the main line of our argument. We are attempting to show that a missionary above all men must enter the field well equipped with clear authoritative beliefs and doctrines—he must be prepared to dogmatize, or he cannot expect to be heard in India. And further, as the defect of Protestantism is a certain want of safe dogmatic anchorage, therefore any inclination toward Brahminism is to be regarded as a drift toward a lee-shore—a sign that we are in a dangerous current. We have also given our reasons for holding Babu Keshub Chunder Sen to be setting up for Christians not a friendly lamp, but a light-house; not to be showing our missionaries the road, but, the

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rocks ; and only in this latter capacity is he a valuable pioneer. No one can fail to be struck with the immense superiority of the Brahmist's creed over all the superstitions by which his countrymen are blinded, nor can any one doubt the sincerity and unselfish disposition of Keshub Chunder Sen himself. But, if we could believe this to be the last final outcome and reward of the earnest struggles through 3,000 years of the Hindu thinker to discover his true God and to approach nigh unto him, if he is to be content in the fullness of time with Brahism as the solace to his soul and the limit to his understanding of the ways of the Omnipotent, then, indeed, has man through countless generations "rolled the psalm to wintry skies and built him fanes of fruitless prayer." The Brahmist will soon turn away despairingly from his vain attempt to discover the benevolence or providence of the Creator in the pitiless unchanging order of Nature around him ; the higher and more resolute intellects will subside into hopeless materialism, while the ignorant simple populace will relapse into abject idolatrous terror of remorseless fate, and of the malignant unseen deities to whom they will again ascribe all the inexplicable miseries of human life.

Father Newman of the Oratory and Babu Keshub Chunder Sen represent (though most unequally) the two opposite poles of religious conviction, between which stands Protestantism, not unmoved on either side by the antagonistic attractions of implicit credence and of honest doubt. If, however, to the Churches, militant and missionary, in India such a middle position be found no longer practicable, then of two dangers they will choose the least by approaching the Romanist that they may avoid the deist. The former at least offers something in return for the faith which he demands ; his is the Church which, if you can only embrace it blindly,

metus omnes et inexorabile fatum

Subjecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari.

A. C. L.

ART. III.—LAND IMPROVEMENT IN THE NORTH-WEST.

An Act to authorize the advance of public money to promote the improvement of land in Great Britain and Ireland by works of drainage. 1846. (9 and 10 Vict. c. 101).

An Act to facilitate the drainage of lands in England and Wales. 1847. (10 and 11 Vict. c. 38).

• *An Act to promote the advance of private money for Drainage of lands in Great Britain and Ireland.* 1849. (12 and 13 Vict. c. 100).

The Land Drainage Act, Ireland. 1863.

The Drainage and Improvement of Lands Act. 1863.

The Improvement of Land Act. 1864.

The Gazette of India, July 9th, 1870, and 7th January 1871.

Directions to Revenue Officers, N.W.P.

MORE than three years ago an article in this *Review*,* published shortly after the Orissa Famine, drew attention to the necessity of some more effective system of advances than then existed, in order to stimulate the improvement of land. Since that article was written, a severe drought has passed over Northern India, and has again shown the urgent necessity of more thoroughly securing the country from the ever recurring famines which periodically desolate it. Notwithstanding the steady extension of canal irrigation, there must always remain a large extent of country which must look for its security to wells; and the more thoroughly canal water is distributed according to the enlightened principles which have recently been adopted, the more universally will wells be required, and the more desirable is it that the old half-forgotten system of *tuccavee*, under which advances are made by the State for land improvements, should be re-established and improved.

The system of *tuccavee* is, in one form or other, far older than our rule in India. On the annexation of the Upper Provinces, Regulations XLVI of 1795 and XLIV of 1803 were passed to extend to the new territory the rules on this subject which had for some years been in operation in Lower Bengal.† The rules thus introduced have all along remained in force; they have been commented upon in orders of Government and in the circulars of the Board of Revenue. As a fact, however, advances have in recent years been few, and have been made chiefly at times when particular attention has been attracted to the subject. Ordinarily, the people, disheartened by the want of success of their neighbours who have asked for help, have not cared to apply for advances; and

* Vol. xvi. p. 188.

† Reg. 11 of 1793, sec. 44.

it has required a considerable amount of determination and perseverance on the part of the district officer to overcome the passive opposition of his superiors. The matter, however, has never been allowed to drop entirely out of sight. Efforts have constantly been made by the more energetic of Collectors to overcome the *insouciance* of those above them, and we read in the revenue administration report of the North-Western Provinces for 1864-65 that Mr. Ricketts, then Collector of Allahabad, had written at length on the subject, hoping that some general scheme might result from his report. "It has borne," he complains, "no such fruit, but still I renew my advocacy. The scheme has no novelty to recommend it; it cannot compare in grandeur with any system of canals, but, nevertheless, it is most easily managed. It has none of the drawbacks which attended canal irrigation; it insures the Government revenue, and increases that revenue. It is no paltry scheme which insures these great results." Mr. Ricketts's exertions in the development of irrigation were held to be deserving of praise; but although he received this empty compliment, and although he succeeded during the year 1864-65 in getting *tuccavee* amounting to Rs. 28,782 for ninety-nine wells and one tank in his own district, no further notice was taken of his general scheme, the success of which was, no doubt, unfortunately affected by one or two expensive and impracticable suggestions which it contained.

In the same report was printed a memorandum written by Mr. Jenkinson, Deputy Commissioner of Jhansie, one of the districts most seriously affected by the recent drought. This officer urged upon the Board the policy of giving advances to the zemindars for the repair of wells and the smaller tanks—the advances to be repaid in small instalments, extending over a number of years. There can be little doubt that Mr. Jenkinson here hit upon one of the great defects of the present system—the shortness of the period within which advances have to be repaid. An early date is fixed for the completion of the work, and the rule is that, "except in special cases, the whole advance shall be re-paid in three years from that date."

Although the difficulties with which Mr. Ricketts and Mr. Jenkinson had to contend, were in no way removed, advances continued to be sanctioned, and one step at least was gained; for we are in possession of statements showing the amount of *tuccavee* given from the year 1866-67 up to the date of the last administration report.

These amounts were—

1866-67	...	...	...	Rs. 33,944	8
1867-68	...	...	...	" 17,029	0
1868-69	...	...	...	" 1,77,109	0

The sudden increase in the year of drought shows how capable the system is of extension, when the people are convinced that

ART. IV.—BUDDHAGHOSHA'S PARABLES.

BUDDHAGHOSHA'S PARABLES, *translated from Burmese, by Captain T. Rogers, R. E. With an Introduction, containing Buddha's Dhammapada, or "Path of Virtue," translated from Pāli, by F. Max Müller, M.A.* London : Trübner and Co. 1870.

THE tyranny of booksellers is reaching a strange pitch. Captain Rogers, having completed a valuable and amusing translation from the Burmese, is desirous to publish it, but no publisher will undertake the job, unless Mr. Max Müller, or some other gentleman with a name, will contribute something in the way of preface in order to bait the advertisement. This practice has become quite common, and popular authors like Canon Kingsley or Dean Alford, are much in request for floating other people's books. Fortunately, Professor Max Müller brings a conscience to his work, and his contribution to the volume now under consideration contains the results of a good deal of solid labour ; nor would Captain Rogers, I presume, object to the statement, that the 172 pages for which the Professor is responsible, form the most valuable portion of the book. But the result is incongruous ; the eclipsing of Captain Rogers is hardly fair, and two quite distinct books are in fact bound up together. The Professor does not, perhaps, follow the example of Mr. Fitz Edward Hall, who prefaced Mr. Sherring's useful book on Benares by a dissertation which was certainly scholarly, but unfortunately contradicted on some important points the conclusions of the author whom he was selected to introduce to the public ; but most decidedly he goes on his own way, and leaves Captain Rogers very much alone. A few elucidatory notes from the pen of so sound a scholar would have been more *à propos* than the discussions, interesting as they are, which he gives us. For example, Captain Rogers (or his author) draws in several places (*e.g.*, pages 26, 47, 63) a distinction between a *Rahan* and a *Rahanda* ; the latter of whom has reached a stage of spiritual perfection immensely superior to that of the former. But both words are apparently renderings of the Skr. *arhat* (N. Sing. *arhan*, pl. *arhantah*.) and the Indian books give no hint at a distinction. Captain Rogers may not have seen in this anything which required explanation, but Professor Max Müller could have helped us. Again, there is a story in the *Parables*, (pp. 108—110,) about a *Pakkeka Buddha*, who is represented as looking about to see whom he should deliver. But a Pratyeka Buddha never does this ; he is a selfish Buddha—a being who, having reached the enlightened stage, does not trouble himself about delivering any-

body, but feeds unfruitfully upon his own wisdom. Surely, differences of this kind between the older and the newer traditions deserve a little annotation. And so does the epithet *Parā Taken*, by which a Buddha—not only the particular Buddha, Sākya Muni, but his predecessors also—is described throughout the book.

While on the task of fault-finding, I should also like to ask why Professor Max Müller, in this book and in the *Chips*, has adopted the “missionary alphabet,” as he calls it in his *Lectures on the Science of Language*, after using all his life the modified Jonesian system, which has, he admits, “been adopted by the greatest Oriental scholars in England, India and the Continent.”* The essence of this missionary system is the abhorrence of diacritical marks, though why people who habitually dot their *i*'s and *j*'s in English should object to dotting certain letters in Sanskrit, it is hard to see. One objection to the plan is, that it bars the legitimate use of italics; another is its want of system. The lingual *n*, the palatal *s*, and the *anusvātra* are alike represented by italics, which is confusing, while the use of an italic *y* to represent *j*, and of an italic *k* to represent *ch*, is positively misleading. Professor Max Müller has also adopted in this volume a marvellous refinement of type, which expresses the change of final *as* into *o* before a sonant, by a very small *s* placed immediately to the left of the sonant—a strange expedient for one so considerate of the printer in the matter of diacritical marks.

Lastly, why did not the Professor, while he was about it, give us the Pāli text of the *Dhammapada* as well as the translation? For want of this, half his notes are unintelligible.

I now proceed to give some account of the contents of the book, and I commence with Professor Max Müller's portion, which consists of a translation of the *Dhammapada*, and an introductory essay, dealing with some points of the greatest importance in the history of Buddhism. The parables which Captain Rogers has translated form a sort of commentary on the *Dhammapada*, which is a very ancient Pāli poetical work, in detached aphorisms, like the Book of Proverbs. Its author is unknown, as is the case with all the earliest Buddhistical books, and it is generally believed to consist of the actual words uttered by Sākya Muni. To some extent, this may be the case; there are passages which contain, undoubtedly, the very oldest expressions of the Buddhist faith; nor is there any difficulty in supposing that tradition would have preserved, in these instances, the actual words of the founder, who lived only two centuries before the formation of the canon. But the *Dhammapada*, as a distinct work, cannot be traced before the

* *Lectures*, 2nd series, p. 157.

formation of the canon, which took place in the reign of Asoka ; and indeed beyond that date it is probable that no written book existed. The commentator, Buddhaghosha, lived in the fifth century after Christ; and his history is pretty well known from the *Mahāvansa*, a contemporary work. The word *Dhammapada* means, as Professor Max Müller has shown, "the path of virtue," and the book deals with all the essential ideas of Buddhism in the stage in which it was not a philosophy, but a moral reform. It is religion without theology. There are no Bodhisattvas, no Dhyāni Buddhas, no Akanishtha or other specified heavens, none of the speculative refinements which a later age was to introduce into the Church. The Professor has devoted an interesting discussion to the theology of the *Dhammapada*, or rather the theological ideas which may be inferred from its expressions, and its conclusions, if not very satisfactory to the lovers of cut and dried definitions, are pre-eminently so to all who have sincerely tried to get at the heart of an ancient religion. The two most important questions about any religion, considered in its speculative aspect, are these, What does it teach about God ? and what does it teach about a future state ?

Now as to God, all we can learn of Buddhism is simply negative. We find that all the gods who had entered into popular belief continue to be recognized as gods, that is, as beings inhabiting a sphere superior to that of men, and possessing great powers and intense vitality ; but we do not find the distinct recognition of an intelligent First Cause. The Buddhists did not set themselves in opposition to Brahman teaching about the gods. They did not deny the existence of Indra, or even suggest that he was a devil. They said, or seemed to say, "Indra is very great, but the truly wise man is greater even than Indra. The gods are indeed powers, but finite powers, and subject to the law of sin and death. They can do much for you, if you duly propitiate them. They can give you fine clothes and jewels, the lordship over men and the love of women, magic weapons to strike down the foe and charms to stay the sun in its course. They will receive you into glorious paradises, replete with every bliss which man can conceive, but they cannot awaken or purify the soul ; they cannot touch the real man ; such as you are, you will be ; still subject to the tempter, still enchained by sin and the consequences of sin, still mortal and therefore miserable." So the gods are of little account with Buddhist preachers, and we hear little of any of them, except of Māra, the tempter, a kind of demon-Cupid, who shoots with flower-pointed arrows, that titillate man to lust. Well, we cannot censure a religion for pushing aside the Hindu gods—the misinterpreted relics of a worn-out mythology. Buddhism is not called atheistic for that, but for its alleged denial of a First Cause.

Professor Max Müller's treatment of this subject is hardly quite fair. After quoting some passages of an equivocally sceptical tendency and undoubtedly late origin, he admits that there are other works also belonging to the later or speculative stage of Buddhism, which teach the doctrine of a Creator; and he goes on to say that the earlier writers (from whom alone the founder's views can be inferred) appear to have rather held the sceptical than the orthodox view. But his argument is purely negative. There is no passage in the canonical books which contravenes the atheistic view. Now it seems to me that the negative argument tells as much one way as the other. There is no passage in the canonical books which *asserts* the atheistic view. To clear our notions, we should bear in mind that the early Buddhism did not profess to be a philosophy, and did not put forth a creed. It was a purely moral reformation, and its distinctive doctrines are not theological, but moral. It adopted the popular theology alike in its defects and in its excess; and its peculiarity was, that it laid down with greater definiteness, and pushed to a more logical extreme, certain ethical views, which, as far as we know, were shared both by the philosophy and the popular thought of the time. These views were — looking broadly at them — that there is an infinite difference between right and wrong; and that right actions, by the irrefragable law of the universe, bring reward, and wrong actions punishment; but that there is possible to the intelligent soul, at any period of time, such a distinct and absolute cleaving to the right — such a total abnegation of self and self-regarding wishes — that the consequences of past actions are effaced, and the soul becomes once and for ever enfranchised from the law of retribution, and puts on a higher nature which is incapable of sin. Obviously, this doctrine, so far, has its counterpart in evangelical Christianity. Having originated in India, it operates, of course, on a frame-work of Indian ideas; it is expressed in terms of the current psychology of the time — the law of transmigration, but in essence it is similar to much of the teaching of Protestant Churches, with the difference that though these Churches recognize punishment, they ordinarily repudiate reward. The heaven which is in store for the converted man, through God's grace, corresponds to Nirvâṇa, that is to say, it is the sequence of an act or state of faith, and absolutely incommensurable with the merit of the subject; but the evangelical churches go beyond this and deny merit altogether. The merely moral man of sermons, who is good in all domestic and social relations, pure from vice, the pride of his family and friends, and perhaps of his country, is, if he has not got what is called the "root of the matter," hardly, if at all, better off in the next world than the reprobate. Buddhism gives him, as Paley does, a future state, not only suitable,

but absolutely proportioned to his merit in this ; and, undoubtedly views of this kind are more in accordance with the common sense of humanity. In the ordinary law of life, and apart from the exceptional Nirvāṇa, every past action, good or bad, draws after it inevitable retribution. Punishment follows even the selfish deeds of the holiest of men, while the wickedest of men has his punishment lightened in consideration of any deed of benevolence he may have performed ; just as in the beautiful legend of the middle ages, Judas Iscariot was allowed to cool himself once in a thousand years on an iceberg, because he had once given his cloak to a shivering beggar. Now, what relation do these views bear to the idea of God ? A Christian, habituated to consider the moral government of the universe as the work of a moral Governor, finds a difficulty in separating the two ideas. To the Buddhist that difficulty did not exist. He admitted the law, he did not deny the law-giver ; it simply did not occur to him to enquire whether or not the law was given by a person. No doubt, if Sākya Muni had read Butler's *Analogy*, or if he had been pressed with questions in a witness-box, he would have admitted the necessity of positing an intelligent and perfectly virtuous Ruler of the Universe ; but it was not so, it never came in his way to make the enquiry. Now this is quite a different thing from atheism—the speculative denial of God ; and in its practical results coincides with the highest theism. The essential point is the belief in right and wrong ; the main argument for God's existence—apart from that argument for design in nature, which the Hindu mind never fastened on—is the necessity for a supreme source of good ; but if that good, if the absolute and eternal superiority of right to wrong, and what divines call 'the exceeding sinfulness of sin,' were clearly recognized and practically demonstrated, a speculative correctness of view was of little consequence. One thing the Buddhist was certainly clear upon—that Indra and the thirty-two gods did not make the world, either the visible or the moral world ; they were subject to the law of actions like ourselves, just as Jupiter himself had to obey *fatum*, or that which was spoken—the Greek or Roman, like the Buddhist, did not presume to guess by whom. Even in the views of Jonathan Edwards, the actions of God appear to be controlled by an irrefragable Necessity, which, though represented as arising from His nature, cannot but destroy the conception of Him as an intelligent and voluntary being. This view might, indeed, more justly be termed atheism than that of Sākya, for it strives to penetrate further into the origin of things. It asserts God Himself to be bound by law, whereas Buddhism merely says that the *gods*, i.e. those whom the people called gods, were bound by law ; and leaves ample room behind all law for the Infinite Being, pure and perfect, of whom the Jewish prophets

have told mankind. Of course there are passages in later Buddhist writings which deny the existence of God. Professor Max Müller has quoted one at least, from which no other inference can be drawn; and there are several in Burnouf. But it must be remembered that these speculators go still further. They deny the world and the existence of man, and they even put into the mouth of the Buddha arguments against his own reality. But we need not enter into the question whether *any* philosophical meaning underlies these rhapsodies of negativism: certain it is that they smell of the lamp, not the forum; they never could have been taught to the crowd of busy men; they are the scatter-brained effusions of the hermit's cell. These are not the doctrines which reform the world, which make men self-denying and earnest; and I would go so far as to say that they throw no light whatever upon the essence of the Buddhist reformation; and that while the later aberrations may point to a defect in the original creed as a controlling agency, they cannot be employed to establish a connate error.

The other point of interest dealt with in this preface is the Buddhist conception of a future state, and especially of the Nirvâṇa, the supreme state reserved for the absolutely enlightened soul. The later Buddhist writers, striving to give an exact definition of all the terms of their religion, found themselves in great perplexity about this Nirvâṇa, which the older writers described principally by negatives. It was a state of supreme bliss, and supreme bliss was most easily described by predicating the absence of causes of trouble. There was no grief or pain, no regret and no desire. Do not we hear something like this in the descriptions of heaven? It is the place where the wicked cease from troubling, and where the weary are at rest; there is to be no sun and no moon, no night and no more sea;—"there shall be no more death, neither sorrow nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain." Now it is quite natural that later theorists should refine upon these simple descriptions; should try to build a philosophical system out of negative expressions used without reference to theory, and having laid down their *nidāna*, or chain of causes, should arrive at the notion that as *nāmarūpa*, or the sense of individuality, was a necessary link in the production of individual pain and individual desire, the Nirvâṇa, or the extinction of desire and pain, was based upon the extinction of the sense of individuality; and modern writers have jumped to the conclusion that Nirvâṇa, which is ordinarily illustrated by the blowing out of a flame, meant the extinction of the man's nature or of the man's being, whereas it is only the termination of the *consumption* of that being, of its activity, its efforts, and self-destructive struggles. If the metaphor be rightly understood, it is not the

flame that is man's life, but the wick, and the flame is that which wastes it. In the latest period of literary Buddhism, speculation was full at work on a point which, as some writers would lead us to suppose, had been settled once for all by the Founder; and there is an instructive passage cited by Burnouf from the *Lankāvatāra* (a work which, in spite of its title, belongs to the northern or advanced school,) which bears witness to the variety of opinions held on the exact meaning of the term. "Men talk," said a disciple, "of the Nirvāṇa, the Nirvāṇa; what is this Nirvāṇa over which all the schools are wrangling?" "I will tell you," answered the Buddha, "what are the opinions of the various schools. There are those who define the Nirvāṇa as annihilation; they hold that it is attained by the suppression of the intellectual attributes and the senses, by indifference to the external world, by the cessation of all exercise of thought, by forgetfulness of all things, past, present and future; but those who hold this view never attain to Nirvāṇa. Some hold that it is the condition which supervenes, when we lose the view alike of the thinking subject and of the object of thought; others describe it as the imperishable substance of the soul; some place it in the distinction of the soul from outward things; some in the annihilation of moral distinctions; some in the perfect comprehension of truth; others in the reduction to substantial natures unmodified by attributes; some describe the Nirvāṇa as existence, others as the knowledge of existence." I have omitted a few definitions, the meaning of which is very difficult to seize; and others which represent, with a slight shade of difference, some of those which I have given: but I have given enough to show that the question does *not* lie in a nut-shell; that a term explained by various schools as "existence," or "the perfect comprehension of truth," or "the imperishable substance of the soul," cannot be translated off-hand as "annihilation." Even where the term annihilation occurs, in the first definition, it is shown, by what follows, to be a relative or subjective annihilation, and to this view, in spite of the author's condemnation of it, he recurs in what seems to be the summing up of his own opinions,* and the notion into which all the various notions of Nirvāṇa tended to merge. In this view the continued existence of the thinking subject is a condition of the Nirvāṇa, which consists in the annihilation,

* True, he involves it with all the others in a sweeping condemnation; but this wantonness of negation is frequent in later Buddhism. "It is not true that A is B; it is not true that A is not B: it is not true that A is either B or not B; it is not true

that A is neither B nor not B." The position, as well as the unctuous tone of the definition to which I refer, seem to justify Burnouf in assuming it to be the author's *ex-cathedra* utterance.

relatively to that subject, of all phænomenal existence, — in the language of another school, the complete victory over *Māyā* or the delusive power which fills the mind with notions that correspond to nothing real. Nirvāṇa is thus a purely subjective change, it is not the annihilation of the person, or the distinction of personality, but the distinction of the person's belief in the existence of objects, including the thinking subject as an object of thought. The man who has entered Nirvāṇa exists, as far as we are concerned, as much as he ever existed ; it is only to his own mind that his existence has ceased, together with that of all other persons and things. This is quite intelligible so far ; the difficulty lies not in the notion of Nirvāṇa, but in the opinion that Nirvāṇa is a state in which the soul sees truth, and that therefore the soul's perception of its own non-existence is a true perception. When the glorified saint thinks, "This world is nothing, and I am nothing," the Hindu thinks that he is right ; but we, the disciples of Descartes, argue, or at least feel, that, if he can think at all, he must have a real existence, and that his perception of his own nothingness is a false one. We hold to the reality of the thinking subject, at least, which to the Hindu was not at all necessary. The doctrine of Nirvāṇa is thus based upon a mistaken or confused psychology ; but I must repeat that it implies no annihilation of the individual, merely his consciousness of the essential nothingness of all things, himself included.

In this analysis of the later and more settled conception of Nirvāṇa we have found that the extinction it points to, is an extinction of *ideas*, but those who are accustomed to trace a religion backward from its metaphysical to its moral stage, will find without surprise that, in the earlier monuments of Buddhism, the extinction most thought of is the extinction of *desires*. The *Dhammapada*, as Professor Max Müller shows (pp. xli—xliii), uses the word in both senses, but especially in the moral sense. It is rest or peace,—“ When thou hast cut off passion and hatred, thou wilt go to Nirvāṇa ; and, “ If, like a trumpet trampled under foot, thou utter not, then thou hast reached Nirvāṇa ; anger is not known in thee.” It is “ the quiet place,” “ the changeless place ;” it is even immortality, a very different notion from annihilation. Thus, to sum up, while in the earlier books, Nirvāṇa is merely a state of happiness especially characterized by freedom from all disturbing passions, (for, as to its positive joys, “ eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive” them) ; in the later stage it came to imply the freedom from all those conceptions which regulate, and therefore limit, the working of the human intellect—the conceptions of causation, of substance, and of individuality.

The character of the *Dhammapada* may have been inferred from what has been already said of its teaching upon a single point. It is essentially ethical; it deals in a simple and popular way with such ideas as good and evil, pleasure and pain. If, now and then, some deep utterance of the Founder is cited, as seems to be the case in the first two verses and elsewhere, notably in vv. 153-4, it is carefully explained away in a strictly ethical sense. Thus, in the first verse, the words translated by Professor Max Müller "all that we are is the result of what we have thought," where "all that we are" paraphrases the highly technical term *dharma* (explained by Burnouf, "ce qui fait qu'une chose est ce qu'elle est, ce qui constitue sa nature propre,"* and compared by the Professor to its etymological equivalent *forma*;) make us fear that we are about to be carried into a region of transcendental speculation. But the explanation re-assures us: hatred comes from indulging thoughts of hate; and if we consider that we must all come to an end in this world, our quarrels will cease; the same plain old-world morality which in the more elaborate language of our century condemns those who

'do their little best to bite;
And strive to make an inch of room
For their sweet selves, and cannot hear
The sullen Lethe rolling doom
On them and us and all things here.'

The other passage I have referred to is obviously a citation, and in its *Æschylean* grandeur and obscurity differs strikingly from the simplicity of its setting. "Without ceasing shall I run through a course of many births, looking for the maker of this tabernacle, — and painful is birth over and over again. But now, maker of the tabernacle, thou hast been seen; thou shalt not make up this tabernacle again. All thy rafters are broken, thy ridge-pole is sundered; the mind, being sundered, has attained to the extinction of all desires." The Buddha, in these striking words, uttered, it is said, at the moment of his emancipation, at once deifies and defies the cause of births, the law of the consequences of action; the "maker of this tabernacle" is apparently only a personified moral force; but, if the Buddha conceived him as a God, it was a God whom he had conquered. But this bold and striking outburst is followed in the *Dhammapada* by trite saws of worldly prudence, like the distichs in the *Hitopadesa*, or '*Poor Richard's Almanac*.' "Men who have not observed proper discipline, and have not gained wealth in their youth, they perish like old herons in a lake without fish."

* Introduction, p. 42.

There is little sequence in the *Dhammapada*; the proverbs are strung at random like those of Solomon, or possess some artificial connection such as their use of a common metaphor, as in the chapter entitled "Flowers." Some are striking and well-turned, or display a thoughtful and tender, if not very profound, sentiment. For instance—I quote almost at random:—

"Death carries off a man who is gathering flowers, and whose mind is distracted, as a flood carries off a sleeping village." *v.* 47.

"As the bee collects nectar and departs without injuring the flower, or its colour and scent, so let the sage dwell upon earth." *v.* 49.

"He who always greets and constantly reveres the aged, four things will increase to him, *viz.*, life, beauty, happiness, power." *v.* 109.

"As a cowherd with his staff gathers his cows into the stable, so do Age and Death gather the life of man." *v.* 135.

"Kinsfolk, friends and lovers, salute a man who has been long away and returns safe from afar. In like manner his good works receive him who has done good, and has gone from this world to the other." *vv.* 219—220.

"He who applies himself to the doctrine of Buddha, brightens up this world like the moon when free from clouds." *v.* 382.

Some are quaint and ingenious:—

"If a fool be associated with a wise man all his life, he will perceive the truth as little as a spoon perceives the taste of soup." *v.* 64.

"A man who has learnt little grows old like an ox; his flesh grows, but his knowledge does not grow." *v.* 152.

"A man is not an elder because his head is grey; his age may be ripe, but he is called 'old-in-vain.'" *v.* 260.

"If a man becomes fat and a great eater, if he is sleepy and rolls himself about, that fool, like a hog fed on wash, is born again and again." *v.* 325.

On the whole, it is clear that the morality of the Buddha was of the same sound and healthy order as that of other religious reformers who have risen in a reflective age. Religion in its primitive forms had nothing to do with morality; the two classes of conceptions were kept distinct; it was by sacrifice, not by up-right and virtuous action, that the powers superior to man were conciliated. The history of Hebrew religion is the history of a struggle between these two principles,—between the priests proclaiming, as everywhere, the virtues of sacrifice and ceremonialism, and the prophets preaching their uselessness, and teaching that a right state of mind, with the right actions which necessarily flow from it, was that for which men should strive. Turning to India,

we find in the Rigveda little more than the germ of a moral conception of God ; men among themselves had of course their practical utilitarian conceptions of morality ; it was not good to steal, because, if you were caught, you would be punished ; but such a view required no sanction from heaven. In the first stage of Brahmanism, ceremony was still everything, and the sanction of religion was not yet given even to the simplest teachings of morality. Such teachings, however, were gathering force in men's hearts, and the great achievement of the Buddha, that which raises his character among the teachers of mankind to a position second only to the highest, was that he was the first in India to preach that the virtuous life is above all religious observance, that in its true religion consists. One of his most authentic utterances is that contained in verse 183 of the *Dhammapada*, which runs, " Not to commit any sin, to do good, and to purify one's mind—that is the teaching of the Awakened ;" coinciding, thought with thought, with St. James's definition of pure religion, and serving to measure the distance between the doctrine of Sākya Muni, and that of the authors, say, of the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa*. In the course of time the genius of asceticism, which existed in Buddhism from the beginning, swallowed up much of the good result of its moral teaching ; and in the stories written to illustrate the *Dhammapada*, we find evidence of a Pharisaic spirit tending to reduce morality to a set of rigid rules, in which the letter was all, and the spirit nothing ; sometimes the author of the stories reproves this tendency, at other times he obviously yields to it. But in the text itself of the *Dhammapada* there is no paltering with formality, and Pharisaism is condemned as explicitly as in the Gospels.

V. 141 (directed against the characteristic displays of the asceticism of the period) :—" Not nakedness, not platted hair, not dirt, not fasting or lying on the earth, not rubbing with dust, not sitting motionless, can purify a mortal who has not overcome desires." See also v. 394 :—" What is the use of platted hair, O fool ! what of the raiment of goatskins ? Within thee there is ravaging, but the heart thou makest clean."

V. 142.—" He who, though dressed in fine apparel, exercises tranquillity, is quiet, subdued, restrained, chaste, and has ceased to find fault with all other beings, he indeed is a Brāhmaṇa, an ascetic (Sramaṇa), a friar (bhikṣu)."

Vv. 264, 266.—Not by tonsure does an undisciplined man who speaks falsehood become a Sramaṇa ; can a man be a Sramaṇa who is still held captive by desire and greediness ? " A man is not a mendicant simply because he asks others for alms ; he who adopts the whole law is a Bhikṣu, not he who only begs."

V. 364.—" He who dwells in the Law, delights in the Law, meditates on the Law, follows the Law, that Bhikṣu will never all away from the true Law."

Perhaps the most interesting passage in the whole collection is the concluding chapter, which gives a picture of the Perfect man, the moral ideal of Buddhism, the Brâhmana as he is called—not of course the Brâhmana of race or profession, but the truly righteous man. The application of the term is curious, and helps us to realize the fact that Buddhism was not for some centuries openly antagonistic to the prevalent creed, but borrowed its technicalities, only putting on them its own interpretation. The edicts of Priyadarsi address themselves to Brâhmanas and Sramanas, giving precedence to the professors of orthodoxy, but here we have the word, captured as it were from the ranks of orthodoxy, just as Dissenting bodies who retain the formulæ of the Church put their own interpretation on the article, "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church." The *Dhammapada* bears occasional marks of interpretation in passages of which the ascetic tendency is not only pronounced, but in opposition to the teaching of the rest of the book; and a phrase or two in this description of the true Brâhmana seems intended to glorify the religion of dirt: but apart from these passages, it pictures an elevated ideal. It insists on the true Brâhmana being one who has cut through the restraints of conventionality:—"He who has cut the girdle and the strap, the rope with all that pertains to it, he who has burst the bar, and is awakened, him I call indeed a Brâhmana," (v. 398): a similar feeling to that which underlies the favourite utterance of the painter-poet Blake, "Damn braces, bless relaxes." A few other phrases from this description are worth citing:—

"He who, though he has committed no offence, endures reproach, bonds and stripes, him, strong in endurance and powerful, I call indeed a Brâhmana." v. 399.

"He whose knowledge is deep, who possesses wisdom, who knows the right way and the wrong, who has attained the highest end, him I call indeed a Brâhmana." v. 403.

"He who is tolerant with the intolerant, mild with faultfinders, free from passion among the passionate, him I call indeed a Brâhmana." v. 406.

"He from whom anger and hatred, pride and envy, have dropped like a mustard seed from the point of an awl, him I call indeed a Brâhmana." v. 407.

"He who after bearing all bondage to men, has risen above all bondage to the gods.....him I call indeed a Brâhmana." v. 417.

The last portion of the volume, the *Parables* of Buddhaghosha, translated by Captain Rogers, is less interesting to the critic than it would have been if the Burmese translation, which Captain Rogers used, had more closely resembled the Pâli original. As it is, numbers of minute touches are lost, and Captain Rogers is compelled to admit that he cannot make sense out of several

passages—mostly of a metaphysical character. His work is evidently carefully and conscientiously done, and, apart from a certain perhaps unavoidable Bowdlerism, appears to represent the Burmese quite closely enough. Some of the fables are silly and pointless, but most of them are grotesque and fanciful enough for comparison with the Aryan stock of folk-lore, with which indeed they have much in common. The story of the Unlucky Man, for instance, apart from its Buddhistic setting, would not be out of place in Hans Andersen, or Campbell's *Tales of the Western Highlands*, and probably those who are better acquainted with such matters than I can claim to be, would easily parallel it out of the Brothers Grimm. From the very day the child Lokatissa was conceived, the thousand fishermen of his village could not catch a single fish, and the village was seven times burnt down, and seven times had a fine imposed upon it by the King. The fishermen discovered whence their bad luck came,* and ejected the family which was responsible for it; and the child's very parents abandoned him as soon as he could walk alone, giving him a broken peice of pot which served as alms-bowl. As he grew up, he attained high rank in the priesthood, but his ill-luck never deserted him; he had not the attribute of attracting offerings, and at a time when liberality to priests was a virtue eagerly practised, he could never fill his belly. His begging-bowl had a way of looking quite full whenever people came to put offerings into it; but as soon as they had passed by, its contents would suddenly disappear. "My Lord Sariputta" took a great interest in the poor Lokatissa, who had by this time developed unusual spiritual perfections, so that "the light of the divine wisdom shone through him as through an earthen vessel." He determined to help him to a dinner, and went out begging with him. They got nothing, so Sariputta sent him away, on which all the people cried, "Here comes my Lord Sariputta," and hastened to make him offerings of food. Sariputta sent a quantity of the food to Lokatissa, but on the road to the monastery, the people who were carrying it forgot all about Lokatissa, and

* It is worth while to read how they discovered it. "The thousand fishermen divided themselves into two parties of five hundred each, which went out fishing separately. The fishermen who came from the quarter where the parents of the embryo Lokatissa resided, obtained nothing; but the other party of five hundred obtained abundance. The unsuccessful party of fishermen again divided themselves into two parties of two

hundred and fifty each, and again the party to which the embryo child belonged obtained nothing. In this way they continued to subdivide till at last the house of the parents of the embryo Lokatissa was alone in its misfortune; then the thousand fishermen perceiving that the degenerate being must belong to that man's house, expelled the family from the village." pp. 164-5.

eat it up themselves. Lokatissa's adventures in search of a dinner did not end here; but they were finally crowned by success; and on that very day he happily attained Nirvâṇa, and the great Buddha, pronouncing his funeral discourse, expatiated on the circumstances in one of his previous lives which had been punished by his ill-luck in this.

The story of Queen Samavati is noteworthy not only from the variety of its incidents, but also from the fact that we possess it in a non-Buddhist guise. A great part of the story is to be found in the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*—a work some five or six centuries later in date—with all the distinctive Buddhist colouring omitted. A monstrous bird—called by the Buddhist *Hattilinga*, by the Brāhmanist *Garuda*—carries off a queen Samavati or Mrigavati, deceived by her red colour into supposing her to be a piece of flesh. The red colour is ascribed by our narrator to a scarlet cloak; the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* more ingeniously explains the cause of the lady's having bathed in a crimson dye. When the bird finds that she is living, he abandons her on the fork of a tree (or on a precipice), and both stories agree that she is in what Captain Rogers calls the family way; that she gave birth to a son called Udayana or Udena (of which name quite distinct etymologies are given); and that a hermit took mother and child to his cell, and brought up the son. The stories here diverge considerably, but in both of them the boy Udena obtains a wonderful lute, by which he could charm elephants, and in both he is taken captive by the device of a wooden elephant filled with warriors, like the wooden horse of Ilium, which refused to acknowledge the spell. He becomes king of the Kausambhī country, and obtains a daughter of the king of Ujjayinī; and one other queen, says the Brahmanist; the Buddhist gives him two others, and presents a lively account of the intrigues of one of the three against another who was an earnest convert to Buddhism—an account which in more points than one parallels the domestic history of king Asoka, as recounted by Burnouf from the *Divya avadāna*. As in that history, the lady whose viciousness comes to light, is put to death with horrible tortures, which do not seem in these exceptional instances of foes to the faith, to shock the traditional benevolence of the Buddhist annalist.*

Of course a large proportion of the stories, which belong to a period somewhat late in Buddhism, when the priestly spirit had become predominant, tend to proclaim the glories of asceticism, the benefits of liberality to the priesthood, and the punishments which unavoidably fall upon all who meddle with Church property. But on the whole the morality is genuine, and displays a healthy

* Asoka's queen is burnt alive; flesh, fried in oil. The actions of the lady in Buddhaghosha's story is kings are no sure test of the morality compelled to eat strips of her own of a time or of a sect.

hatred of sin. Covetousness is punished as theft; lying is the greatest of sins; those who meddle with other men's wives boil in a hell-cauldron. The doctrine of transmigration furnishes unelaborate machinery for the accurate measurement of suitable punishment. That the stories are not deficient in a pathetic feeling for the sufferings of humanity, is amply proved by the extract with which I shall close this notice, and which I feel sure will attract the reader's sympathy. A young bride has given birth to a son. "When the boy was able to walk by himself, he died. The young girl, in her love for it, carried the dead child clasped to her bosom, and went about from house to house asking if any one would give her some medicine for it. When the neighbours saw this, they said, "Is the young girl mad that she carries about on her breast the dead body of her son?" But a wise man, thinking to himself, "Alas! this Kisâgotamî does not understand the law of death, I must comfort her," said to her:—"My good girl I cannot myself give medicine for it, but I know of a doctor who can attend to it." The young girl said, "If so, tell me who it is." The wise man continued, "Parâ Taken can give medicine, you must go to him."

"Kisâgotamî went to Parâ Taken, and doing homage to him, said:—"Lord and master, do you know any medicine that will be good for my boy?" Parâ Taken replied, "I know of some." She asked, "What medicine do you require?" He said, "I want a handful of mustard seed." The girl promised to procure it for him, but Parâ Taken continued, "I require some mustard seed taken from a house where no son, husband, parent, or slave has died." The girl said, "Very good," and went to ask for some at different houses, carrying the dead body of her son astride on her hip. The people said, "Here is some mustard seed, take it." Then she asked, "In my friend's house has there died a son, a husband, a parent, or a slave?" They replied, "Lady, what is this that you say? The living are few, but the dead are many." Then she went to other houses, but one said, "I have lost a son;" another, "I have lost my parents;" another, "I have lost my slave." At last, not being able to find a single house where no one had died, from which to procure the mustard seed, she began to think, "This is a heavy task that I am engaged in. I am not the only one whose son is dead. In the whole of the Sâvatthi country, everywhere children are dying, parents are dying." Thinking thus, she acquired the law of fear, and putting away her affection for her child, she summoned up resolution, and left the dead body in a forest; then she went to Parâ Taken and paid him homage. He said to her, "Have you procured the handful of mustard seed?" "I have not," she replied; "the people of the village told me, The living are few, but the dead are many." Parâ Taken said to her, "You thought that you alone had lost a son; the laws of

death is that among all living creatures there is no permanence." When Parâ Taken had finished preaching the law, Kisâgotamî was established in the reward of Sotâpatti; and all the assembly who heard the law were also established in the reward of Sotâpatti." (pp. 100-101.)

WILFRED L. HEELEY.

ART. V.—COWELL'S TAGORE LAW LECTURES—

THE HINDU FAMILY.

THE HINDU LAW: *Being a Treatise on the Law administered exclusively to Hindus by the British Courts in India.* By Herbert Cowell, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, and Tagore Law Professor. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co. 1870.

THE investigation of the past and present condition of Hindu law has a two-fold interest. In the first place, the student of history is enchanted to find himself face to face with the elements of an archaic civilization which has been handed down almost intact from pre-historic times. He contemplates with mixed feelings of curiosity and veneration, those vestiges of a primitive society which are disclosed to us in the constitution of the Hindu family and the village community. Facts which are ordinarily the subject of antiquarian research are here daily before his eyes, and serve to throw a flood of light on the early history of the institutions and practices of the rest of the world. On the other hand, the social reformer cannot but regard with a feeling of sorrow the stereotyped character of those institutions, which, while they are of immemorial usage, are in many respects radically opposed to all freedom of thought or action. He will watch with anxiety the struggle that would seem to be inevitable between modern progress and the conservatism of a huge and powerful, though antiquated, system,—a system which had its birth in the religious instincts of a nation, was nursed in priestcraft, and matured by the veneration of ages, and which has at the present day almost as tight a hold on the feelings and sympathies of the people as in the time of Manu. But, more than all, will such a man, especially if he be a European, be interested in estimating the result that must ensue from the contact of such a system with an enlightened foreign civilization. The administration of Hindu Law by English judges cannot but be attended with important effects upon the tone and principles of the law itself. The changes may be gradual and unobtrusive, but they will be none the less certain and sure.

It was not more out of respect to the memory of the founder than in the interests of legal science that the Senate of the University of Calcutta resolved that the first course of the Tagore Law Lectures should treat of that branch of law, in illumining the obscurities of which the late Babu Prosonno Coomar Tagore was himself a burning and a shining light, and with which his name will always be identified. Mr. Cowell's first volume is now before us, and fully justifies, as we think, the choice which the Senate made of a Professor. The present course treats, as an Introductory,

Course should treat, of the Hindu Family — the salient point of the whole Hindu system. Though the book has its faults, it is scarcely too much to say that Mr. Cowell has succeeded in a remarkable degree in proving himself to be master of his subject, and in realizing the full significance of the principles which he undertakes to discuss. In defining the task which he sets himself, we cannot do better than use the Professor's own words. He says, he proposes to treat of

'those rules or principles of law which are at the present day applicable exclusively to Hindus, and are so recognized and acted upon by the highest Courts of Justice established by the English Legislature and Government. With Hindu Law, as it may have been ages ago, or as it was originally declared by the ancient authorities, we have to do only as with the ancient frame-work of historic society. The early precepts of the Hindu lawgivers have been controlled by the vicissitudes of experience; and the rules of law which at the present day govern the lives and property of Hindus depend partly upon the doctrines received by the various schools of interpretation of the sacred text, partly upon the usages which have obtained in particular classes or localities, and are adapted to existing habits and customs, subject to such modifications, changes and improvements as have been from time to time introduced during the last century by the action of the English Legislature and the decisions of English Courts.' (pp. 2 --3.)

In this passage Mr. Cowell explains his object to be, to exhibit Hindu law as actually in force at the present day in Bengal. This object is strictly kept in view throughout the work—sometimes to rather an aggravating degree. Questions which the general reader would like to see argued on their own merits, and with some reference to the theoretical character of Hindu law, are disposed of by quoting a decision of an English Court, which is regarded as a final settlement of the points at issue. But on maturer reflection the line adopted will probably be found to be not only justifiable, but far more likely to secure the end which the University has in view, than had Mr. Cowell indulged more freely than he has done in learned antiquarian disquisitions upon the primitive Hindus and their ancient customs and usages. The University wants a text-book for the use of its students, giving a general, though not necessarily an exhaustive, view of the subject. It desires to see the law set forth as it is in practice, "with a view to the ultimate formation of a body of Institutes of Indian Law." Its instructions have been carried out to the letter, and the Syndicate, we imagine, will have no cause to be dissatisfied with the specimen of the work which is now before us.

Mr. Cowell brings to his task an easy and graceful style, which only halts here and there, when the printer is probably more to blame than the Professor.

On their assumption of the administrative charge of this country, the English guaranteed to the natives of India the observance of their own laws and customs in matters civil and religious. The privilege in question dates from about 1772, and it was subsequently enacted in various regulations of the three Presidencies. In Bengal, the law on the subject is contained in Regulation IV of 1793, Section 15, which provides that, "in suits regarding succession, inheritance, marriage and caste, and all religious usages and institutions, the Muhammadan laws with respect to Muhammadans, and the Hindu law with regard to Hindus, are to be considered as the general rules by which the Judges are to form their decisions. In the respective cases (it is added) the Muhammadan and Hindu law officers* of the Court are to attend to expound the law." These important privileges were confirmed to the natives on the supersession of the East India Company by the authority of the Crown.

It has been ably demonstrated by Mr. Maine, in his history of ancient law, that all the primitive codes of which we have any knowledge are pervaded with a strong religious element. Whether we look among the Jews and Hindus of the East, or the Greeks and Romans of the West, we find abundant evidence of the fact that religious, moral and civil ordinances are blended together in all the earliest systems of law. It was not until the human intellect began to acquire distinctive ideas regarding obligations which were strictly legal, those which were purely moral, and those which appealed to man's religious instincts, that the rule of law began to be distinguished from the rule of religion. Originally no such discrimination was observed. This is emphatically the case with the laws of Manu—the *Mānava Dharma Śāstra*—which primarily constitute the basis upon which the superstructure of Hindu law has been erected. That code, as every one knows, is believed to be of divine origin. As Babu Shamachurn Sircar says, "It is regarded by us Hindus as next in sanctity to our Scriptures, the *Vedas*, and is the oldest of the memorial laws" (*smṛiti*). Accordingly, we find that religious observances and ceremonies occupy a prominent position in Manu's code. As in the Pentateuch, laws of inheritance stand side by side with the rites of purification from defilement. No intelligent Englishman can have read the books of Moses without being struck by the curious manner in which ordinances, civil and religious, are enunciated without any sort of order or arrangement. We need go no further than the decologue for an apt illustration of the manner in which moral and religious obligations are confounded. It is precisely the same with the laws of the Hindus.

* These officers were abolished by Act XI of 1861.

Legal and religious duties are not only prescribed in the same code, but the one are intimately bound up with and made to depend on the other. We shall have to discuss two eminent examples of this in the manner in which the right of succession in a Hindu family is dependent on the performance of the obsequies of the deceased, and in the extent to which the validity of adoption is affected by the omission of certain ceremonial rites.

With the progress of society in the West, the law of God and the law of man have by degrees come to be discriminated. Religion and morality no longer form the subject of statutory ordinance, but are left to the conscience of the individual. Not that we are yet altogether free from the effects of past superstition. There are many people in England at the present day who regard the institution of marriage as a sacrament, and even more who would not feel satisfied that they were legally married, if not in a Church and by a priest. It is not long since many of our laws used to be defended by the authority of the Pentateuch. But, nevertheless, the tendency has always been to separate the idea of what is due to God from those laws and rules which are artificially constructed for the well-being of society. In the East, however, as Mr. Maine has pointed out, the tendency of the ruling oligarchies was to be religious rather than military or political; and thus the religious element in Oriental systems of law has been preserved for a much longer period and to a greater extent than in the West. Even in historic times, a Muhammadan law has been constructed which is almost synonymous with the Muhammadan faith. And the laws of the Hindus, dating back from the misty age of Manus and Mahārshis, are now as much as ever based upon a frame-work of religious rites and ceremonials. For, numerous as have been the successive expositors of, and commentators upon, Hindu law, they have all followed in the footsteps of their predecessors in this respect. The authority of the priestly caste has been studiously maintained. Neither foreign dynasties nor social revolutions have succeeded in bringing about any innovations in the law. Manus Institutes have been stereotyped upon the character and institutions of the people. Schools have arisen, as was to be expected, with the conflicting interpretation of doubtful passages; but no school would venture to assert that its doctrines were not in strict accordance with the commands of the primitive legislators. Only in the Bengal school does some approach seem to have been made towards a right apprehension of the distinction between the rule of morality and the rule of law. It is unnecessary in this place to indicate the doctrines either of this or of any other of the five schools into which Hindu law is divided at the present day. But we may be permitted to remark that

the whole tendency of the Bengal school is to discriminate between what is strictly legal and what has merely moral force. An act may be wrong, say the professors of that school, but "a fact cannot be altered by a hundred texts." The moral and civil laws are distinct, and you may break the one without infringing the other. As Mr. Cowell remarks, these doctrines

'indicate a considerable advance in the development of Hindu jurisprudence. Without pretending to break away from or ignore the authority of the earlier sages, the founders of the Bengal school distinctly assert the superiority of legal to moral duties in the eye of the legislator, and begin the separation between religion and law. They further break in upon the old communal system of property, and insist upon the separate personal and proprietary rights of the individual in a manner which innovates upon the old theory and practice of joint family life. The authority of the old texts, and the reverence felt by the nation for its inspired law-givers, were not sufficient to impede the influence of advancing civilization, or to prevent the introduction of these two important changes. They serve to indicate to us the direction in which Hindu law has manifested a natural tendency to develop itself' (p. 19.)

The administration of such a law as we have described, by English judges, could not fail to be a problem of the highest interest. Mr. Cowell very truly remarks:—

'Its administration by an alien race would, no doubt, be a crisis in the history of the law of any people that ever existed. And with regard to Hindus it has had this considerable result, which has not been without great influence, that it separated at once and widely the functions of the judge and of the priest, and terminated the influence, or at least the ascendancy, of the religious oligarchy which up to that time had monopolised the knowledge and administration of the law.' (p. 17.)

We shall have occasion further on to notice particular instances in which the principles of Hindu law seem to have been affected in consequence of its having been administered by a foreign and more highly civilized race. The question involved is an important one, concerning, as it does, the stability of our promises on the one hand, and on the other the progress of the people in civilization. It is the old struggle that is going on in all departments of the social system—the struggle between a blind and superstitious conservatism and the more enlightened ideas which have been introduced by Western science and religion. Mr. Cowell boldly ranges himself on the side of progress. For so doing we may fully expect to see him charged with a want of sympathy with the people. But, considering the end and object of these Lectures, we think his manner of treating his subject is the right one. He is evidently a firm believer in the scientific principles enunciated by Mr. Maine, and he shows considerable skill, we think, in applying

them to the institutions of Hinduism. There is much force, for instance, in the following remarks :—

‘ In securing to the Hindus the observance of their shasters as their right, it never could have been intended that their laws and usages should be for ever stereotyped and imposed upon them as an unalterable obligation, by a power which was to be incapable by its own compact of altering or modifying them as occasion might require. There must, in the ordinary course of things, be some room for their gradual growth, and their constant adaptation to the changing circumstances of time and society. * * * Religion should be left as much as possible to rest upon opinion, and to be modified by surrounding influences. * * * It is in accordance with the tendency and the later teaching of Hindu legislation to consult their religious doctrines in order to ascertain the rights which spring out of, or are founded upon and limited by them, but not for the purpose of actively enforcing any obligation. The authority of religion and priests may be left to support itself without the indirect protection afforded by English Courts insisting upon the rigid celebration of sacrifices and ceremonies as essential to civil rights. It is not always easy to draw the line between securing, on the one hand, to Hindus their usages as their rights, and, on the other hand, continuing to impose them as burdens while they are or would be losing vitality and influence.’ (pp. 26—27.)

We think Mr. Cowell is perfectly justified in keeping these facts constantly in view, and that they add considerable value to his dissertations on Hindu Law. Such a work as that before us should be based on the most liberal principles, so as to aid the Courts rather than fetter them in the administration of an antiquated and conservative code, and, as a text-book, to accustom the mind of the student to the nature and reason of the changes which time and education must necessarily bring about in the legal institutions of the country. In the end, such a view of the law will be more conducive to its stability and continuance than were it still to be made to rest on an unreasonable basis which cannot possibly withstand the shocks of an enlightened civilization. A spirit of enquiry is abroad among Hindus in the present day that will test everything to its foundations, and whatever is found to depend and draw its life out of silly or idolatrous superstitions, is doomed to be swept away with the superstitions themselves. If Hindu law is to preserve the sanctity in which it has always been enveloped, it must dissociate itself from whatever is unable to resist this freedom of thought, and seek a firmer basis on more reasonable and scientific principles.

Another point on which Mr. Cowell dwells with some force is the tendency of modern legislation to substitute the individual for the community—“the gradual dissolution of family dependency, and the growth of individual rights and obligations in its place.” In his excellent treatise on *Ancient Law*, Mr. Maine has pointed

out the important part which the Family has always played in the earliest systems of jurisprudence. He explains that everywhere (so far as we know) in the infancy of society, the family is the unit of which the civil laws take account. By degrees the individual comes to be substituted for the family, just as the principle of local contiguity gradually supersedes that of consanguinity as the basis of political union. But, originally, or at least as far back as we can trace the history of jurisprudence, the laws seem to recognize no lesser unit (so to speak) than a group of a certain number of persons, whose interests, rights and responsibilities in the eye of the law are one and undivided. Traces of the stage of civilization in which the family occupied the position which is now-a-days filled by the individual, have been handed down to us in the history of Roman jurisprudence; and, what is of equal if not greater value for purposes of scientific and historical research, a similar state of things is in actual existence around us in India at the present day. The joint family is the most curious and essential feature of Hindu law.

To the Western mind, accustomed to the independence and individuality of European habits, the spectacle of a Hindu family, 'joint in food, worship and estate,' cannot be otherwise than an interesting phenomenon. In England, it is usual to see a young man, on attaining a certain age, start on a career of independence, owning no further allegiance to his family than may be dictated by moral considerations or the instincts of affection. So soon as his education is complete, he begins to support himself by the labour of his head or hands, and would think it degrading to be beholden to the exertions of others. On marriage, if not before, he quits the paternal roof and sets up a separate establishment. And his children, as they grow up, form similar homes of their own.

In India the case is quite different. The Hindu family lives together joint and undivided, generation after generation. Fathers, sons, uncles, cousins, with all their wives, widows and children, collateral branches as well as those in the direct line, have a right to reside, and often do reside, in the same family mansion.*

* Ward says:—"A grandfather with his children and grandchildren, in a direct line, amounting to nearly fifty persons, may sometimes be found in one family." And he adds the following in a note:—

"Jugunnat'ha-Tarkku-Punchanund, who lived to be about 117 years of age, and was well known as the most learned man of his time, had a family of seventy or eighty indivi-

duals, among whom were his sons and daughters, grandsons, great-grandsons and a great-great-grandson. In this family, for many years, when, at a wedding or on any other occasion, the ceremony called the *sraddha* was to be performed, as no ancestors had deceased, they called the old folks and presented their offerings to them." Ward's *Hindoos*, vol. i. p. 196. We are ourselves acquainted with more

They are supported by the ancestral estate held in common, generally, if not always, consisting of land, out of which each member of the family is entitled to maintenance. To quote the words of Mr. Justice Markby :—

‘ No obligation exists on any one member to stir a finger if he does not feel so disposed, either for his own benefit or for that of the family ; if he does so, he gains thereby no advantage ; if he does not do so, he incurs no responsibility, nor is any member restricted to the share which he is to enjoy prior to the division. A member of the joint-family has only a right to demand that a share of the existing family property should be separated and given to him ; and so long as the family union remains unmodified, the enjoyment of the family property is in the strictest sense common ; as against each other, the members of the family have no rights whatever, except that I have mentioned, and the only remedy for a dissatisfied member is by partition.’*

According to the theory of Hindu law, indeed, no man can be regarded as an integral and independent unit of society—he is only a component member of a family group. His life is interwoven with that of others by a complicated chain of religious observances and legal rights and responsibilities. The law is based upon the communal principle and deals with the family as a whole. And it is curious to observe how this communal principle not only pervades the whole living group, but even extends so far as to associate the living with the dead. The ceremony of the *śrāddha*, of which we shall have to speak, and at which funeral oblations are offered to certain sets of ancestors, is merely a rite significative of the communistic idea which is supposed to be superior even to the stern decrees of fate.

As a matter of fact, this theory of Hindu law is not always carried into practice in the present day. As the family increases, the common residence may be enlarged, and for purposes of convenience the same building may be partitioned among the different branches of the family. But it is not uncommon now-a-days for members of the family to leave the ancestral mansion and set up establishments on their own account. In the same way family dissensions (which are perhaps one of the worst consequences of the Hindu family system) or other causes may lead to the partition of the common estate. The dissemination of Western ideas, and the example of Anglo-Saxon independence, have also doubtless had their due effect in hastening the disruption of the family system as it originally existed. But the theory still penetrates every department of Hindu law, and it is not in the power of any Hindu to free himself from its influence in this respect.

than one family in Calcutta which number above two hundred souls.

has been undivided for five genera-
tions past, and the members of which

* S. M. Ranganmani Dasi v. Kasinath Dutt, 3 B. L. R., o. c. 1.

But the question remains, What is a Hindu family in the eye of the law, and what constitutes the legal relationship? It is obvious that, in any state of society like that we have been considering, in which the law deals with families or groups rather than with individuals, some rule or other is necessary to define the family limits.

The natural tie of relationship is of course that of blood. All the descendants of a married pair are related by consanguinity. Every man has a set of blood relations on his father's side, and another set on that of his mother. It is clear then that, if families are to be kept distinct — if, so to say, there is to be any principle of individuality in the idea of a family, some artificial line must be drawn beyond which the family limits shall not pass. One method of defining the family, the simplest and probably the most primitive, was to cut off at a single stroke, as it were, the whole of a man's maternal relations. In the old Roman law, the family limits were defined by the principle of the *patria potestas*, the effect of which was to confine the legal *familia* to the *agnates*, or those who were or might have been subject to the same *patria potestas*, as opposed to the *cognates* or blood relations. Thus, a daughter on marriage passed into the power of her husband, and though still cognate to her own father, ceased to belong to his family of agnates. So, in Hindu law, we find a principle according to which the legal limits of the family are defined. This principle is the right to perform the obsequies of the dead.

After what has been said above of the extent to which religion enters into all the earliest systems of law, it will not surprise the reader to find that the Hindu idea of a family is constructed upon a religious rather than a civil or natural basis. The worship of ancestors, whatever may have been its origin, has undoubtedly been widely prevalent at one time or other of the world's history. Not only among the Hindus, but among the Greeks, the Romans,*

* Besides the principal sacrifice to the dead, which took place on the ninth day after death (*ἐννέα*), the Greeks were in the habit of making offerings on certain fixed days of the year. The *γενεαί* are supposed to have been annual offerings presented on the birth-day of the deceased, and the *μεμβάν* similar rites on the anniversary of his death. "The Romans, like the Greeks, were accustomed to visit the tombs of their relations at certain periods, and to offer to them sacrifices and various gifts which were called *Inferiæ* and *Parentalia*. The Romans appear to have regarded

the manes or departed souls of their ancestors as gods, whence arose the practices of presenting to them oblations, which consisted of victims, wine, milk, garlands of flowers and other things. The tombs were sometimes illuminated on these occasions with lamps. In the latter end of the month of February there was a festival called *Feralia*, in which the Romans were accustomed to carry food to the sepulchres for the use of the dead." *Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Art. *Funus*. The great sacrifice at a Roman funeral was also on the ninth day and was

and other nations, was such worship practised. Traces of it, we think, may even be found in the Old Testament. It exists among the Chinese at the present day, and among the Hindus it supplies the principle on which the legal family is artificially marked off from the more comprehensive group of blood relations.

The *śrāddha* is now-a-days perhaps the most solemn of Hindu ceremonies. Its due celebration at frequent seasons is enjoined upon all. Its omission is believed to entail the most evil consequences. It is intimately associated with the Hindu belief in a future state, and the priestly caste has not failed to take advantage of the circumstance to add to its own power and importance.* But, more than this, it regulates the succession to property and lies at the foundation of the whole legal system. As Mr. Cowell says:—

‘The *Śrāddha* fills as large a space in the life of the Hindu as the festival of the Passover did in that of the Jews. The frequency with which it is or used to be performed, the minuteness of the details which are prescribed, and the long duration of its hold on the national mind, and the extent to which it has influenced the condition of their law, show the depth of the importance which, throughout Hindu history, has been attached to it in the minds both of priests and people. It is the great primeval institution of Hindu civilization, and has not merely expressed, but has powerfully influenced, the character and spirit of the people who have for ages clung to its impressive and prolonged observances as a consecration of that deep religious and domestic sentiment which distinguishes them amongst mankind. The spirit displayed in them is unfavourable to the creation of individual will and independence, and largely influences the personal relations, or rights and duties, of members of the family. It would be impossible that a Hindu father who enters upon his position as head of the joint-family, by offering those indispensable obsequies to his helpless ancestors, knowing that he too in his turn will be equally dependent in the future on his descendants, could imbibe any very resolute sense of dominion such as the old principle of the *patria potestas* gave to the Roman. Obligation, instead of power, is the chief characteristic of his position from the first to the last.’ (pp. 77—78.)

Every one who has lived in India must have been struck with the importance which is attached by all classes to the marriage state. While in England we hear only exhortations against early or imprudent marriages, native opinion in this country insists on the necessity which each man is under to contract matrimony as soon as possible, and regards its omission as almost a crime. There are several reasons for this opinion. For the female sex, marriage is declared to be indispensable. For the

called *Novenndide*.

* The word *śrāddha* means that which is believed, or an act of faith.

And it would not be far wrong to call what is the *śrāddha par excellence*, the creed or faith of the Hindus.

twice-born classes it constitutes the final and most important of the ceremonies which are considered necessary to expiate the sinful taint which every person is supposed to have contracted in his mother's womb. For Sudras and women* it is the only ceremony of regeneration that is permissible or necessary. Moreover, in a system like that of the Hindus, which, as we have seen, mainly regards society as composed of an aggregate of families, immense importance must necessarily attach to the duty of continuing the father's name and lineage to succeeding generations. Nor is this all. The secular motive was further strengthened by religious belief. The Hindu was scrupulously taught that his spiritual welfare after death depended upon the performance of certain ceremonies by his son. "By a son a man obtains victory over all people; by a son's son, he enjoys immortality; and afterwards, by the son of that grandson, he reaches the solar abode. Since the son (*trágate*) delivers his father from the hell named *put*, he was therefore called *pu-trá* by Bráhmá himself."† And in describing the rules of inheritance, the same authority says:—"By the eldest at the moment of his birth, the father having begotten a son discharges his debt to his own progenitors; * * * that son alone, by whose birth he discharges his debt, and through whom he attains immortality, was begotten from a sense of duty, &c."‡ So indispensable indeed was a son considered for the due performance of the obsequies, that, if nature failed to provide offspring, another's son might be adopted—the adopter thereby rescuing many ancestors, for, by the omission to provide a son, a man was supposed to injure others as well as himself. There were certain torments to be delivered from, certain stages of blessedness to be attained, and the pious services of descendants, as far as the third degree at least, were necessary for the purpose. So inextricably was the necessity of raising up offspring interwoven with the being of every individual. It is true that in this, as in many other points, the *Sástras* themselves are not quite consistent. In default of a son, the obsequies may be celebrated by the widow or the nearest male relative, but not, as is supposed, with the same spiritual virtue; while it is clear that, in such a case, the benefits to be derived from the pious offices of future generations cannot be attained.

There are two kinds of *śrāddha* or funeral obsequies, which must not be confounded with each other. The *ekodishta śrāddha* is the ceremony performed in honour of a single person who

* "The nuptial ceremony is considered as the complete institution of women, ordained for them in the Veda," &c., Manu, ii. 67.

† Manu, ix. 137—8. The etymology given is not supported by modern philologists.

‡ Manu, ix. 106—7.

has lately deceased ; the *pārvana śrāddha* is a similar ceremony in honour of the family progenitors. The former is, or ought in strict accordance with the Śāstras to be, celebrated sixteen times within the year following the death of the person in whose honour it is performed. The first *ekodishṭa śrāddha* takes place on the eleventh day (thence called *ekādasi*) after the cremation of the corpse ; the last, called the *sapindikarāna*, on the anniversary of the day of decease—twelve monthly and two biennial *śrāddhas* being performed in the interim. In the first ceremony, Colbrooke says, the object in view is “to effect by means of oblations the re-embodying the soul of the deceased after burning his corpse.” The succeeding ceremonies are intended “to raise the shade of the deceased from this world (where it would else, according to the notions of the Hindus, continue to roam among demons and evil spirits) up to heaven, and there beatify him, as it were, among the manes of his departed ancestors.” When the deceased has left an only son, however, it is usual to curtail these ceremonies, and the *sapindikarāna* is performed within two or three days of the first or *ādya śrāddha*—the reason being that in the event of an accident happening to the son before the celebration of the *sapindikarāna*, the salvation of the soul of the deceased would be jeopardised.* During the continuance of the *ekodishṭa śrāddhas*, the *pārvana śrāddha* is held to be in abeyance ; but the last of the sixteen, or *sapindikarāna*, is a double ceremony, combining an *ekodishṭa śrāddha* with a *pārvana śrāddha*. On that occasion the deceased is associated with his ancestors, and thenceforth he is denominated a *pitrī*. As many as ninety-six occasions in the year are prescribed for the performance of the *pārvana śrāddha*, but, as Mr. Cowell observes, general custom is content with its observance on the last night of the moon preceding the Durga Puja (the *Mahālayā*), and on the occasion of visiting places of pilgrimage.

The ritual prescribed for observance at an *ekodishṭa śrāddha* is intricately detailed, and somewhat tedious in the recital. It mainly consists in offering oblations of food and raiment to the deceased, intermixed with invocations, the supposed effect of which is to rehabilitate his soul. The figure of a Brahman, constructed of *kusa* grass, is regarded as an object of worship throughout the ceremony, and offerings are also made to the *sāḍgrām* or household god and other deities. The distribution of food and presents among the assembled Brahmans is no unimportant part of the ceremony. Indeed, as is the case in the Romish Church to the present day, the greater the expense incurred on these occa-

* The souls of those whose *sapindikarāna* has not been performed, are supposed to roam about the earth as ghosts (*pret*). An intelligent native

gentleman assured the writer that this is the reason “why we are troubled with ghosts so much !”

sions, and the more munificent the contributions to the service of the priests, the more meretorious is the ceremony supposed to be. The unscrupulous way in which money is sometimes dissipated on the occasion of a *śrāddha* is almost as scandalous as the extravagance of Hindu weddings.

At the *pārvana śrāddha* three cakes (*pinda*) are offered to the father, paternal grandfather, and great-grandfather of the worshipper, and three to the maternal grandfather, his father and grandfather; the remnants of the oblations being offered to the three remoter ancestors of each line. At the last *ekodishṭa śrāddha* (with which, as we have said, is combined a *pārvana śrāddha*) the *pinda*, or funeral cake, which is prepared as an oblation to the deceased, is divided into three portions and mixed with the cakes offered to his three ancestors, thus signifying his association with their manes, whence also the name of the ceremony, the *sapindikarāna*.

It remains now to see in what way the funeral obsequies operate to limit the legal idea of a Hindu family. Mr. Cowell has illustrated this part of his subject with remarkable clearness. In general terms it may be said that the Hindu family includes all who give, receive, or share the funeral cake or *pinda* — all such being designated in consequence as *sapinda** to each other. Mr. Justice Dwarkanath Mitter says that "the principle is based upon "the theory according to which a Hindu is supposed to participate† "after his death in the funeral oblations that are offered by any "one of his surviving relations to some common ancestor to whom "he himself was bound to offer them while living; and hence it is "that the man who gives the oblations, and the man who receives "them, and the man who participates in them, are all recognized "as *supindas* of each other." Now the right to share the funeral cake is limited to three degrees in the direct line. "To three "(ancestors) must water be given at their obsequies; for three "(the father, his father and the paternal grandfather) is the "funeral cake ordained; the fourth (in descent) is the giver (of "oblations to them); but the fifth has no concern (with the gift of "the funeral cake.)"‡ Thus a Hindu is bound to offer the *pinda* to his father, grandfather and great-grandfather in the paternal line, and he in turn may expect to receive it from his son, his grandson and his great-grandson. All these, therefore, comprising seven degrees, are *sapindas*, and constitute the innermost family circle. The family also comprehends all those who present

* The Sanskrit prefix 'sa' is equivalent to the Latin 'con,' as in *consanguinity*. communal idea of the family is preserved even after death.

† Manu, x. 186.

‡ It is curious to note how the

the *pinda* to the same ancestor, and thus various collateral branches are included. Brothers and their sons and grandsons are all *sapinda* to each other, inasmuch as they all offer the *pinda* to the same father.

Again, a woman being incapacitated from the performance of her father's obsequies, the duty devolves upon her son. Besides the relationship therefore established with his father's family, a Hindu is always *sapinda* to his maternal family, inasmuch as he offers the *pinda* to the father, grandfather and great-grandfather of his mother. In relation to his mother's family he is also designated a *bandhu*, i.e., a kinsman sprung from a different family but allied by funeral oblations; but the peculiarity of the law consists in this, that the relationship is strictly personal, being limited to the mother's sons only, and neither shared by their sisters nor transmitted to their sons.

Outside the family circle of *sapindas* lie a more distant set of kinsmen who are called *sakūlyas*.* These are the three generations in ascent and descent beyond the *sapindus*. They are said to "share the remains of the oblation wiped off with *kusa* grass." And, lastly, outside and beyond these again, lie the *samanodakas* or "kindred connected by libations of water; and they must be understood to reach to seven degrees beyond the kindred connected by funeral oblations of food, or else as far as the limits of knowledge as to birth and name extend."† These three series of kinsmen—the *sapindus*, *sakūlyas* and *samanodakas*—together constitute the *gotra*, or Hindu *gens*.

Mr. Cowell contrasts the constitution of a Hindu family connected by the *pinda*, with the Roman *familia* of *agnati* owning subjection to the same *patria potestas*. He points out two circumstances in particular in which they differ. The Roman *familia* included all who were or might have been subject to the same *patria potestas*. All such were agnates of each other. Originally, females who married, and males who were transferred by adoption into other families, ceased to belong to the *familia* in which they were born; but "in the time of Justinian the tie of *agnatio* came to be regarded as more indissoluble, and then the agnates included all who were related to one another through the males. The married females and the sons who had been adopted into other families remained the agnates of the family of their birth; though, of course, their descendants were excluded." It is obvious, therefore, that the Roman *familia* was unlimited in the direct line of ascent and descent in the male branch, while females and their descendants were altogether excluded by marriage. But in the Hindu

* The term *sapinda* is sometimes the *sakūlyas*.

used in a wide sense so as to include † *Mitakshara*, ii. C. 6.

family system there are certain stages which mark off, as it were, different degrees of kinship, and limit the family tie in the direct line. The kindred within three degrees, that is, as far as the *proavus* in ascent, and the *pronepos* in descent, with the collateral branches, constitute the inner circle of *sapindas*; the three generations beyond these, that is, as far as the *tritavus* and *trinepos*, form an outer circle of *sakilyas*, beyond whom again lie the more distant kindred of *samanodakus* to the distance of seven generations. Moreover, in the Hindu family, the woman's relationship to her own family is not extinguished by marriage; but it simply lies dormant to be revived in her sons, who perform the obsequies for her and her ancestors, and are consequently *sapinda* to her family. It is to be observed, however, that this kinship is strictly confined to sons, and does not extend to their descendants.

Such, no doubt, has been the theory of Hindu law for ages, but it is quite possible that there may have been an earlier stage. Mr. Maine would seem to be clearly of opinion that the relics of the *patria potestas* may be traced in the institutions of all early societies;* but it was the *patria potestas* in a very primitive and unartificial form, and not as developed by the Romans, among whom it became a powerful social and political institution. To quote from *Ancient Law*:—

‘Contrasted with the organization of a modern State, the commonwealths of primitive times may be fairly described as consisting of a number of little despotic Governments, each perfectly distinct from the rest, each absolutely controlled by the prerogative of a single monarch. But though the Patriarch, for we must not yet call him the Paterfamilias, had rights thus extensive, it is impossible to doubt that he lay under an equal amplitude of obligations. If he governed the family, it was for its behoof. If he was lord of its possessions, he held them as trustee for his children and kindred. He had no privilege or position distinct from that conferred on him by his relation to the petty commonwealth which he governed. The Family, in fact, was a Corporation; and he was its representative, or, we might almost say, its Public officer. He enjoyed rights and stood under duties, but the rights and the duties were, in the contemplation of his fellow-citizens and in the eye of the law, quite as much those of the collective body as his own.’†

It cannot be denied that this is an accurate picture of Hindu society in the present day. The joint family is just such a corporation as is here described; the *kartā* is its representative, and his rights and obligations are those of the family. The idea of a family, says Mr. Maine, presupposes the existence of an undeveloped *patria potestas*. “The persons theoretically amalgamated

* *Ancient Law*, pp. 135, 150, 153, and elsewhere. † *Ancient Law*, p. 133.

into a family by their common descent, are practically held together by common obedience to their highest living ascendant, the father, grandfather or great-grandfather. The patriarchal authority of a chieftain is as necessary an ingredient in the notion of a family group, as the fact (or assumed fact) of its having sprung from his loins.* In Roman law this patriarchal authority developed into a domestic despotism; in Hindu law it has never advanced beyond the stage of trusteeship. Contrast the description which Mr. Maine gives us of the Roman *paterfamilias* with that of the *kartā* in Hindu law.

‘So far as regards the person’, writes Mr. Maine, ‘the parent, when our information commences, has over his children the *jus vite necisque*, the power of life and death, and *a fortiori* of uncontrolled corporal chastisement; he can modify their personal condition at pleasure; he can give a wife to his son; he can give his daughter in marriage; he can divorce his children of either sex; he can transfer them to another family by adoption, and he can sell them. * * * The ancient law of Rome forbade the Children under Power to hold property apart from their parent, or (we should rather say) never contemplated the possibility of their claiming a separate ownership. The father was entitled to take the whole of his son’s acquisitions, and to enjoy the benefits of his contracts, without being entangled in any compensating liability. * * * The Paterfamilias was answerable for the delicts (or *torts*) of his Sons under Power. He was similarly liable for the torts of his slaves; but in both cases, he originally possessed the singular privilege of tendering the delinquent’s person in full satisfaction of the damage.’†

Now what are the powers and responsibilities of the *kartā* of a Hindu family?

‘The shasters (we quote Mr. Cowell’s words) by no means placed the family under the despotic power of its chief. The *karta* did not possess his family and his property. He rather possessed his property through his family. His obligations outweighed his authority. * * * The acts of each member probably bound the corporation; and every member of it was liable, since responsibility pervaded the whole family. * * * The obligation to provide for the maintenance of the joint family is the foundation of the father’s authority over the joint estate.’‡

The *kartā* of a Hindu family in fact has remained throughout up to the present day simply a sort of steward of an estate held in common—an estate in which he has no greater interest than the other members of the family, all of whom have a claim upon it for maintenance. It is the same with regard to the *kartā*’s authority over the members of his family. His property in his

* *Ancient Law*, p. 183.

‡ Cowell, pp. 108, 109, 134.

† *Ancient Law*, pp. 138, 141, 145.

own son is limited, and to some extent shared by others. A son is as much bound to perform the obsequies of his grandfather as of his own father, and it is only by virtue of this obligation that he is entitled to succeed to the family estate. There is thus a communal principle pervading the family relations in regard to persons as well as property, and this communal principle has never given way to the *patria potestas* strictly so called. Mr. Cowell, therefore, seems to us to be likely to mislead his students in the contrast he draws between the Roman *patria potestas* and the *sapindaship* of Hindu law. The fact would seem to be that the peculiarities which he notices, are simply derived from the religious idea which pervades the whole of the Hindu system, and are in no sense an outgrowth of the patriarchal authority. Our own theory is that the limitation of the *sapinda* relationship on the mother's side is a relic of a primæval age, in which the mother's personality was altogether ignored; while its existence in any form is due to a later day, when religious ideas had come to be engrafted on, and largely to influence, national usage. Originally, it is quite possible that among the Hindus, as among other primitive nations, marriage had the effect of cutting a woman off, utterly and irrevocably, from her own kindred, who were thenceforth completely forgotten or ignored. In the strictest sense, the woman left her own father and mother, and gave unto her husband, and they became one flesh. She lost her individuality and became thenceforth merged, as it were, in her husband. We have evidence of this in some of the forms of Hindu marriage, and in the practices of some of the primitive tribes on our frontier. Whether she were carried off as a captive of war* or purchased from her kindred as a common chattel, it seems to us to be pretty certain that in the earliest times a woman was severed from her own family altogether by marriage, and absorbed in that of her lord and master. In modern society a man is found possessed of two sets of relatives on the side of his father and mother respectively. But originally it was not so. The law of usage over-rode the law of blood; and in practice a man had nothing whatever to do with his mother's relations. But when the Hindus began to acquire their peculiar beliefs regarding a future state, and the happiness of the departed spirit was held to depend upon the manner in which the obsequies were performed by the descendants of the deceased, we can imagine that a necessity must have arisen for the deliverance of the woman's soul—that the performance of her *śrāddha*, too, was indispensable to her spiritual salvation. Hence a woman's *śrāddha* came to be performed by her son, and in the *sapindikarana* her spirit was removed from ghost-land and associated with her ancestors in the

* Compare *Deut.* xxi. 10—14.

regions of the *pitrīs*. By this time the *śrāddha* had penetrated the whole Hindu system, and had come to supply the principle on which the inheritance and succession to property was made to depend. The duty of performing the obsequies carried with it the right to succession to the property of the deceased. And thus it came about that a woman's son was numbered as one of her own family, and in certain cases succeeded to the ancestral property as heir.

It is, as we conceive, the act of redeeming the soul of his mother from the region of the shades, and the necessity for this purpose of his offering oblations to the manes of her ancestors, that connects a Hindu through the *pinda* with his mother's family. And this reason sufficiently explains why the relationship is strictly a personal one, being neither shared by sisters, nor transmitted to sons. The sisters, of course, are incapacitated from the performance of their mother's *śrāddha*, and her spirit having been once removed into safety in *pitrī-loka*, there would seem to be no necessity for the continued performance of *śrāddhas* in her honour by her son's son.

In the foregoing pages we have shown how the principles of Hindu law operate to limit the legal idea of a family — how, with the remarkable exception that every man is *sapinda* to his own mother's family, all relations through females are excluded, while concentric circles, so to speak, mark off groups of kindred in the male line in greater or less proximity. It remains, however, to consider another aspect of Hindu law. We have seen how, from both secular and religious motives, the continuance of the Hindu family was an obligation of the very highest necessity. The principle of *co-parceny* which united the living with the dead, the due performance of the joint worship and the management of the joint estate, the manner in which the salvation of the soul was believed to depend upon the pious offices of descendants — to say nothing of the duty of preserving and transmitting the family name — all these considerations had a force among Hindus which the Western mind is slow to appreciate. Hence marriage was regarded as indispensable, and practically came to be almost universally practised. But it might so happen that the end and object of marriage was unattained; nature might refuse to bless the union with offspring. What was to be done in such a case? Was it not possible in any way to supplement the imperfections and shortcomings of nature? The law provided an artificial remedy in the institution of *adoption*.

The practice of adoption seems to have been prevalent in almost all ancient communities, and to a great extent for the same reasons. Both among the Greeks and among the Romans, one of

its main objects was the preservation of the *sacra** of the family, which was only the religious mode of regarding the preservation of the family name. Wherever it existed, too, the practice seems to have been subject to very similar rules. It was a general maxim, for instance, that it was only in default of natural male offspring that a man could adopt, and that in no case could he adopt an only son.

The Sastras mention twelve kinds of sons among Hindus, of whom six are declared to be kinsmen and heirs, and six not heirs but kinsmen. "Of the twelve sons of men, whom Manu, sprung from the self-existent, has named, six are kinsmen and heirs; six not heirs (except to their own fathers) but kinsmen. The son begotten by a man himself (in lawful wedlock), the son of his wife begotten (in the manner before described), a son given (to him), a son made (or adopted), a son of concealed birth (or whose father cannot be known), and a son rejected (by his natural parents), are the six kinsmen and heirs. The son of a young woman (unmarried), the son of a pregnant bride, a son bought, a son by a twice-married woman, a son self-given, and a son by a Sudra, are the six kinsmen but not heirs to collaterals."† In the present Kali age, however, only a legitimately begotten son (*ourasa*) and the son given (*dattaka*) are recognized in Bengal, the *kritrima* form of adoption (or the son made) being also current in Mithila. The legitimate son includes the son of an appointed daughter (*putrika puttra*)—that is, the son of a daughter of whom the father has said, "The male child that shall be born from her in wedlock, shall be mine for the purpose of performing my obsequies."

The institution of adoption has been thoroughly treated by Mr. Cowell, and the subject is one of deep interest for the examples it affords of the tendency of Hindu law, under the administration of our Courts, to depart more and more from its exclusively religious type. In following our author through his treatise on this topic, our main purpose will be to draw attention to those points in which the ancient Hindu theories seem to have been affected by English case-law.

By adoption a Hindu *dattaka* son is transferred completely and irrevocably from the family of his birth to that into which he is adopted. The legal rules in regard to the ceremony require that the adoptive father have no son; that the gift and acceptance of the child be manifested by some overt act; that the child be neither an only nor the eldest son, and that he be at the time of

* The *sacra privata* were made perpetual by the laws of the Twelve Tables. It was the duty of the pontiffs to see that the *sacra gentilitia* were regularly performed. See Maine's *Ancient Law*, pp. 191-192.

† Manu, ix. 158-160.

adoption of the prescribed age, that is, not more than five years old. The ritual was originally of the simplest description. Manu merely directs that the gift should be "confirmed by pouring water." Other writers have provided for a certain amount of publicity in the attendance of the kinsmen of the family and notice to the Raja or headman of the village.* But it has been ruled that these secular ceremonies are not legal essentials, although their absence may be regarded as suspicious. Such was also, till lately, the general opinion in regard to the *datta homam*, or sacrifice to fire. The rule which was laid down by Sir Thomas Strange, and which has been consistently followed for a long series of years, was that the performance of the *datta homam*, though of religious significance and importance, was not essential to the validity of the adoption in the eye of the civil law. But the High Court has lately ruled that the observance of the religious ceremony is not only an indispensable requisite in the case of the three twice-born classes, but that even Sudras must employ Brahmans to perform it for them in order to constitute a valid adoption.† Mr. Cowell criticises this decision as a retrograde step in the administration of Hindu law, and his arguments appear to have considerable force. It is no doubt the duty of our courts to administer the law as we find it laid down in the text-books of the authorities, but when there is a balance of authority, it would surely be unreasonable to expect them to adopt that view of the case which is most opposed to modern ideas, instead of promoting the separation of law and religion and the establishment of legal principles upon a more enlightened basis.

'The clear written text of sages,' writes Mr. Cowell, 'whose maxims are received and held in reverence by Hindus, and shown to be generally acted upon, must always prevail in deciding upon their laws and usages; but where sages and commentators are at variance, or where their language and meaning are doubtful, the most liberal interpretation of their precepts which shall be consistent with the objects they had in view, and with those considerations of public policy which Courts of Justice are in the habit of regarding, may fairly be resorted to in the exposition of Hindu law.'

In the present case, moreover, the rule which has now been impugned had considerable prescription in its favour, and it was therefore unnecessary, as we think, as well as impolitic, to revive

* We would commend this point in particular to our social reformers. A system of registration of adoptions is still a *desideratum*. The Legislature has lately provided for the compulsory registration of authorities to

adopt when they are reduced to writing, but a nuncupative authority is still legal.

† *Bhairabnāth Sye v. Mahes Chandra Bhadury*. 4 B.L.R., A. c. 162. JJ. Loch and Bayley.

and perpetuate the position, that an idolatrous ceremony is a necessary formality to a legal adoption. As Mr. Cowell remarks :—

‘The Courts have always declined to supervise religious ceremonials or to insist in any way on their performance. They are left, and properly so, to the conscience of individuals or to the influence of the priests or of the opinion of the caste or community to which the parties belong. The weight of judicial authority has never been thrown into the scale to secure their observance or to prescribe their necessity.’ (p. 239.)

And again :—

‘It would appear to be equally convenient and reasonable that the performance of religious ceremonies enjoined at, as well as after, the adoption, should be left to the conscience of individuals; and that the public or well-ascertained gift and acceptance with the intention that he should be a son, by those qualified to give and accept, of a child eligible to be given and accepted, should alone be legally sufficient for the validity of an adoption.’ (p. 230.)

After all, we must remember that Hindu law, like every other institution, has had its various phases, the injunctions of one age being unknown to or forbidden by another. It was the general belief some years ago that *suttee* was as old a custom as the Hindus themselves, but later researches have proved beyond doubt that it was merely an abuse which crept in with the degradation of women, and that it was not practised in the Vedic age.* In the case before us, Manu is silent as to the observance of the *datta homam*; he speaks only of “the pouring of water.” On the other hand Jagannatha, who is generally considered as no mean authority, says “that the *homam* is an unessential part of the ceremony, no one having declared that filiation is *null* without it.” Under these circumstances we cannot but regret, with Mr. Cowell, the decision which has threatened to give a longer lease to the authority of priestcraft and the observance of superstitious rites.

In regard to the age at which a child should be adopted, it is curious to note how a religious idea is, as usual, introduced to subserve a civil purpose. One of the most important theories of the Hindu system is the necessity which every man is supposed to be under of being regenerated from the taint of sin which he contracted in his mother's womb. With those who are designated *par excellence* the twice-born classes, this process of regeneration extends over a long period, during which various ceremonies are to be performed. The regeneration of Sudras and women is effected once for all by marriage. Now Hindu law makes it essential that the regeneration of an adopted child should be effected in the family of adoption

* See *Journal Asiat. Soc. Beng.* for 1870, p 241. *On the Funeral Ceremonies of the Ancient Hindus*, by Babu Rajendralala Mitra.

—the child must be born again, as it were, as his adoptive father's son. Accordingly with the three higher classes, it is considered indispensable that certain of the ceremonies which go to constitute regeneration, should be celebrated in the adoptive family, but, as usual, the schools differ as to the particular ceremonies which should be thus performed. It seems to be universally admitted that the *upanáyana*, or investiture with the sacred thread—a rite which is usually performed when the child is from six to eight years old—must be solemnized in the family of adoption. And some schools go further and declare that adoption ought to take place before the performance of the next preceding ceremony of *churákarana*, or tonsure, on which occasion the child is addressed by the name of his patriarchal tribe. The impediment may be got over by the performance of penance and sacrifice, but even in this case it is said that the child remains a *dvyádmushyáyana*, or son of two fathers, belonging to both families, and capable of performing obsequies and so of inheriting in both. In the case of all four tribes, marriage of course constitutes an insurmountable bar to adoption.

The question as to the extent to which the spiritual injunctions of the *Sastras* are to be understood as binding in civil law, is one which, considering the way in which almost every act of a Hindu is overlaid with religious ceremonies, naturally often forces itself upon the attention of the courts. Another case in connection with our present subject is noticed by Mr. Cowell. The question raised was the validity of the adoption of an only son. The Madras and Bombay High Courts, following the *dictum* of Jagannatha, who says that the moral guilt incurred by the adoption of an only son does not invalidate the adoption itself, have ruled that such an adoption, though reprehensible in the eye of morality, is perfectly valid in law. But notwithstanding that it is in Bengal, where the doctrines of Jagannatha are supposed to be mainly held in esteem, and where the maxim of *factum valet* flourishes, the Bengal High Court has refused to be bound by the Madras decision, and has on the contrary ruled that “the religious and temporal aspects of adoption are wholly inseparable; that the subject of adoption is inseparable from Hindu religion itself, and all distinction between religious and legal injunctions must be necessarily inapplicable to it.” Mr. Cowell remarks:—

‘The judgment in the case* was delivered by Mr. Justice Dwarkanath Mitter, and is doubtless of the highest authority. But although the prohibitions are, in the matter of adopting an only son, so distinct as to justify their being extended to invalidate any adoption which

* *Raja Upendra Lal Ray v. Srimati Rāntī Prasannamayī*. 1.B.L.R. A.C. 221.

takes place in defiance of them, it is nevertheless desirable that the distinction between religious and legal injunctions should not be lost sight of, and that the theory should not be too readily accepted that the religious aspects of any single doctrine or institution in Hindu law are altogether inseparable.' (p. 310.)

Mr. Cowell thoroughly concurs in the result of the Bengal decision, but he shows, and satisfactorily as we think, that that result may be arrived at by an altogether independent process of reasoning, by considering the legal right of a father to dispose of an only son in adoption, without introducing the religious aspect of the question at all. If, as we conceive, the communal idea as completely pervades the *personal* relations of the family as it does the institutions connected with the devolution of property, no Hindu can set up an absolute right in the person of a son, whose pious offices are as indispensable to the welfare of his father's ancestors as to that of his father himself.

We have been at pains to lay before the reader these tendencies of the modern legislation of our courts in regard to Hindu law, partly because their exposition constitutes one of the main features of Mr. Cowell's Lectures, and we could not, therefore, have properly reviewed his book without some notice of them, and partly because the subject appears to us to be in itself one of very great importance. It is before all things desirable that the action of our courts in this respect should not be misunderstood, at the same time that it is left free and unfettered. There is no one in India who would deplore more sincerely than the writer of this paper any rude attempt to transgress the principles upon which Hindu law is based, or carelessly and without sufficient cause to set at nought the hoary traditions and venerable institutions of the people. We have probably gone quite far enough, if not too far, of late years in endeavouring to adapt everything in the country to European models. And in interfering with the social and domestic institutions of a foreign nation, we are treading on most delicate ground. There is no subject on which the people are more sensitive, and consequently no subject in dealing with which greater caution is necessary. It is not enough to dismiss such ideas on the ground that they are mere sentiment. Sentiment plays no unimportant part in the world's history. A nation's love of its traditions and antecedents is a part of the national life. Hindu law, as we have seen, is intimately connected both with the religious beliefs and the domestic institutions of the people. They believe it to be of divine origin, just as much as we believe that the Ten Commandments were delivered by God to Moses. These beliefs may be false, but, so long as they retain their hold upon the national mind, they must be tenderly and cautiously dealt with.

But while we are thus careful not to give offence by any clumsy or heedless interference with the dearest customs and usages of the people, we must not overlook the fact that Hindu society is passing through a transitional stage, and that considerably advanced views are not uncommon among a very large section of the educated classes. Neither caste nor priestcraft has to-day the same hold upon the national mind that it had fifty years ago. No one would maintain that the English courts were bound to uphold caste with all the degrading distinctions prescribed by Manu. Few would contend that a civil court in the present day should interpret the injunctions of the Sastras from the stand-point of a Brahman priest.* In these matters a certain progress has already been made, and the tendency is still to advance in the same direction. We may readily believe that, even if left to themselves, the people of India would respond to the impulse which has lately been given to their civilization, and gradually evolve a new system of law which would be free from the debasing influence of priestcraft and superstition. And it is surely not for us, standing here as we pretend, as the educators and enlighteners of the people, to repress the aspiration after better things which we have ourselves created. Surely it is our duty rather to lend a helping hand, and in the true spirit of sympathy to encourage every effort which the people are willing to make in the way of progress.

As we have remarked above, too, it is desirable, both for its own sake and for that of the people, that religion should be confined to its proper sphere, without being introduced into the discussion of civil questions. Religion is essentially a matter of conscience and concerns the individual alone; the civil laws are ordained for the well-being of the body politic. The tendency of a progressive civilization, so far as history can be trusted, has always been to sever them. Knowing this, we may expect the same tendency to operate in regard to Hindu law, and it would be an act of madness to hope to counteract it. On the contrary, the wiser policy would seem to be to utilize our experience by gradually preparing the way for the changes which are inevitable. The religious beliefs of the

* Mr. Cowell quotes the following passage from a judgment of Sir Colley Scotland:—"It is of great importance, I think, in this country that the courts exercising their civil jurisdiction as now provided, should carefully guard against entertaining suits in respect of mere ritual observances and the conduct of the various kinds of native religious worship and ceremonies, and of what, as incident thereto, may be due to the sacred character

or the religious rank and position of individuals. With such matters the courts cannot properly deal, and if their jurisdiction extended to interference in them, the law would, I fear, be made instrumental in upholding and continuing the ceremonials and superstitious observances of idol-worship, for the benefit merely of the few who profit by them."—*Striman Sadogapa v. Kristna Tatachariyat*. 1 Madras H. C. R. 301.

people may undergo modification ; if, then, the civil laws continue to be based on those beliefs, what is there to prevent their being swept away along with them ? Roman law was at one time as intimately bound up with religion as Hindu law is at the present day ; but it had to free itself from the connection before it furnished the basis on which the whole system of European jurisprudence has been erected. The practice of adoption is in itself not a whit more objectionable than the testamentary power which occupies so prominent a position in English law ; it only becomes objectionable if it is connected with the performance of superstitious and idolatrous rites. Is a Hindu who scruples to perform a sacrifice to fire, to be henceforth barred from the practice of adoption ? Yet this is the dilemma to which those must see themselves reduced, who insist upon maintaining the dependence of legal rights upon religious observances.

The duty before us is a delicate one to perform ; and as we have said, however much we may deplore the evils we see around us, we would deprecate any rude or violent attempt to remove them. It is for this reason that we conceive it to be a most fortunate thing for this country, that the Government is able to avail itself of the services of educated native gentlemen in the highest courts in the land — men who have had a large and liberal training in the principles of Western science, and who cannot be charged with a want of sympathy with the people, or of reverence for their institutions. Such men will render far more valuable assistance to our courts, and be far more instrumental in reconciling the revered injunctions of the Hindu sages with the requirements of modern civilization, than the old pundits and law officers who were only interested in preserving the supremacy of their own caste.

No one can have realized to himself the idea of a Hindu joint family without perceiving that the system has its advantages as well as its disadvantages, that it is productive of much social evil as well as of good. It hardly falls within the scope of our subject, but we will entreat the reader's patience while we briefly sketch in conclusion the effects of the family system on the social economy of the country.

The main defect of the system, as it seems to us, lies in the opposition which it offers to industrial enterprise. It does this in

* Reg. VII of 1837, s. 9, of the Bengal Code, extended by Act XXI of 1850, affords a notable instance of the progress of our legislation in this respect. That enactment—one of the monuments of Lord William Bentinck's rule—removed the civil

disabilities which attached to a renunciation of the Hindu religion. A convert from Hinduism, for instance, can now succeed to ancestral property without being compelled to perform the *śrāddha* of the deceased.

two ways :—it directly encourages idleness, and it indirectly fetters the efforts of the industrious. When every man in the community has a claim for maintenance upon his family, and when that claim is recognized both by law and by social opinion, one of the strongest inducements to individual exertion is removed. The first ambition of every English youth is to be independent and to support himself; and this feeling is encouraged by English public opinion. A Hindu, on the other hand, if he be so inclined, may sit idle all his life long and be dependent upon his family for support. He neither suffers personal inconvenience for so doing, nor is it considered a matter of reproach. He is allowed to marry and beget children, just as though he were himself earning a sufficiency for their maintenance. Drones of this kind are not uncommon in the hive, and they must be a fearful drag upon society no less than on the family fund. The effects of the system may be traced in the national character. The apathy of the Hindu is doubtless due as much to the social institution of which we are writing, as to the effects of a relaxing climate, or any other cause whatever.

Nor is this all. Ancestral property in India, as a rule, consists of land, and the want of an absolute ownership is a bar to all improvement. In such cases, when property is held in co-partnership, nothing can be done without the consent of all the sharers, and it is scarcely necessary to say that the old proverb *Quot homines tot sententiae* is of every-day application. The difficulty of applying capital to the land under these circumstances, would seem to be almost insurmountable. A sharer with money and enterprise, may wish to improve his estate by irrigation, drainage, the construction of embankments or roads; but he is at once prevented from doing so by the consideration that the benefit of the outlay will have to be shared with others who may not be willing to contribute a single rupee towards the improvement. There is probably not a single district officer in the country, who has not had sad experience of the evil of the joint family system in this respect. In a similar manner the relations of landlord and tenant suffer, when the ownership of the property is distributed among a number of co-partners, not one of whom has sufficient interest independent of the rest, to induce him to consult the welfare or convenience of the ryot.

On the other hand, the joint family system has one advantage, which is of no little importance in a social point of view. The right which every member of the family possesses of shelter in the common residence, and of maintenance out of the common fund, results in preventing a great deal of the misery and pauperism which we see in England and other countries in Europe. So long as the family system is in operation, a poor-law will probably be unnecessary in Bengal. The young, the old, the help-

less and infirm, are all provided for, and that by the very persons on whom it is most reasonable that the cost of their maintenance should fall. Whether this single advantage is sufficient to outweigh the evils of the system which we have described above, we shall not pretend to enquire. It may be that it is itself more than counterbalanced by the domestic inconveniences of the system. However admirable that system may be, as providing for the poor and helpless, it is very questionable indeed if it is productive of as much domestic happiness as exists in other communities. It is not permitted to a European to learn all that goes on inside a native *zenana*, but if all we hear be true, it would seem that dissensions, jealousies, bickerings, and all the bad passions of our human nature are as rife there as elsewhere, and probably to an exaggerated degree, proportionate to the number of its inmates. The fact is, as Mr. Justice Phear told the Bethune Society, were it not for the early age at which marriage is contracted in this country, the joint family system would be unbearable and impossible; and with the spread of education, and the emancipation and better treatment of women, we may expect to see it disintegrated and gradually to disappear.

ART. VI.—METEOROLOGY IN INDIA.

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1864.

Reports of the Meteorological Reporter for the North Western Provinces, 1863-1869.

Reports of the Meteorological Reporter for the Punjab, 1866-68.

*Reports of the Meteorological Reporter for Bengal, 1867-69.**

IN the budget estimates for the year which has just elapsed, under the general heading of expenditure on Education, Science and Art, is an item of Rs. 59,006 for meteorological registration. This does not include the cost of the three Presidency observatories, which, however, discharge other functions in addition to that of meteorological registration, nor does it include the expenditure borne by certain local funds for observatories in Oudh, the Punjab and Bombay. We may roughly estimate the meteorological work of these at Rs. 20,000 in addition, so that the total public outlay on work of this kind throughout India does not fall far short of Rs. 80,000. It is now nearly six years since 'Meteorological Departments' began to figure in the public accounts, and as is usually the case, the amounts under that heading have shown a pretty steady tendency to increase. The results of six years' work are or should be now forthcoming, and it is therefore not premature to enquire what these results amount to. Have we some solid return for the outlay, in the shape of systematised fact which may hereafter be turned to account in the practical treatment of questions of agriculture, sanitation, irrigation, engineering and the like, and have we something added to the general stock of science; or have we, as is too often the case, merely a pile of crude materials useless alike to the meteorologist and the economist, and destined to slow destruction by the ravages of insects and fungi, while awaiting the hand of a Dove to sift and arrange them?

There is perhaps no modern science on which so much labour has been fruitlessly expended as on meteorology. The labours of astronomers are comparable to those of meteorologists in the extent to which they involve regular and unremitting observation, and in the consequent accumulation of registers and tables; but those who devote themselves to astronomical observation have, with rare exceptions, a definite purpose in what they undertake; they know how to observe, and where causes of error lurk; and they are so far instructed in their subject that they are themselves competent to bring their crude observations into a useful shape. But when the physics of our atmosphere, instead of the physics of the stars, are the subject of study, no such preparation

is thought necessary. Anyone who can read a Vernier, and whose habits are sufficiently methodical to allow of his noting the readings of his instruments at set hours with tolerable regularity, deems himself, as a rule, qualified to make useful observations on the physical state of the atmosphere; and if these conditions coincide with a laudable desire to do something useful, a preference of sedentary to active occupation, and the possession of a barometer and thermometer or the means of obtaining them, the chances are that one more meteorological register is set on foot. A very little consideration will show that work so undertaken can rarely be of any service whatever; but the contrary opinion is so generally prevalent, that we may be permitted a short digression to prove its error. Meteorological science, in common with all other forms of knowledge, proceeds by methods of comparison; and meteorological registers are of value only, if, when they are compared the one with the other, the differences that they show can be accepted as indicating real differences in the things or states of things that the instruments are intended to indicate. This condition is not of such necessary or even frequent fulfilment as might seem at first sight. To take a simple example;—let us suppose that two thermometric registers kept by different observers, either at different stations in the same year or at the same station in different years, show a mean difference of 4° . This may result either from an actual difference in the mean temperature of the air at the two places, or in the two periods (which is of course the assumed cause); but it may equally result from one thermometer having an error of $+2^{\circ}$ and the other of -2° ,* or the one may have been recorded at 9 o'clock and the other at 8 o'clock; or, finally, the one may have been hung where exposed to the heat reflected or radiated from a neighbouring wall, and the other in a deeply shaded spot near a pond, where the evaporation always keeps the temperature lower than elsewhere around. Only in the first case, speaking generally, is the fact useful to the meteorologist, but it is not sufficient that there has been a real difference in the thing observed. In order that the fact may be useful to him *quantum valeat*, he must be *well assured* that this is the *only* cause of the difference shown by the figures. If there be any doubt about the matter, he will not, if he be imbued with the true spirit of science, draw any conclusion from their registers. They are to him little better than waste paper. Now, unless an observer is well acquainted with physics, it is only by a rare chance that he can avoid such pitfalls, and they surround the use of the barometer, and most other instruments, even more thickly than they do that of the thermometer. Hence it is that the number of registers that can

* No unusual case with old instruments.

be used with confidence for the purposes of science, is but a small fraction of those laboriously constructed by amateurs.

So far our remarks have reference to amateur observation—to those cases in which the observer takes a personal interest in his work, and where his shortcomings arise from an imperfect appreciation of its requirements. When, however, we turn to what may be termed *official* meteorology, such as has hitherto been the chief outcome of this country, the case is far worse. A certain class of officers, district collectors or medical officers, for instance, none of whom have of necessity more acquaintance with the laws of heat and pneumatics than was conveyed in an English education some years since, receive an order from head-quarters to keep a register of the barometer, thermometer and rain-gauge. Almost as a matter of course, their own time is too much occupied with other duties to allow of their giving much personal attention to the matter; they receive sets of instruments, issued on indent from a general store, without comparison, and accompanied by no directions, or at best by imperfect directions. These instruments are suspended in a convenient place, generally selected chiefly with a view to keeping them out of the way of unofficial curiosity, and their further charge and use is handed over to a sherishtadar, office writer, or native compounder. The results may well be left to the imagination of our readers.*

Up to the year 1865, the greater part of the meteorological statistics that had been collected in India were of this nature. It is characteristic of such ill-considered efforts that no attempt was made to turn to account the data thus collected, nor even to ascertain whether they were capable of being turned to account. They were allowed to accumulate on the record shelves of the Boards of Revenue and the Medical Boards of the several Presidencies; and with the exception of a few fragmentary registers of the better class that found their way into the journals of the Asiatic Societies of Calcutta and Bombay, they remained inaccessible to scientific enquiry.

A large portion of the registers thus collected by the Medical departments were made over to the Messrs. Schlagentweit in 1860,

* Some of the most recent of this class of registers that have come under our notice afford such internal evidence of their character as the following:—The major diurnal barometric tide is frequently non-existent, or even reversed; many of the observed readings of the thermometers are lower than the self-registered minimum, or greater than the self-registered maximum; and in one case the mean of the 4 p.m. readings for a month exceeds the mean maximum readings; in others, again, the readings of the wet bulb thermometer are higher than those of the dry bulb. To such as these there are, of course, and probably always have been, favourable exceptions, which may be selected by careful revision, but the good are, we fear, the exception, and the bad the rule.

and the remainder are probably still to be found in the Government Offices to which they were originally sent. In the volume of the Asiatic Society's *Journal* for last year, Mr. Blanford gave a summary of the rainfall data for Bengal, collected chiefly from these registers, and the following remarks quoted from the paper, will show that our estimate of their value is at all events borne out by his experience:—

‘It is clear,’ he says, ‘from the character of the original records, that the value of the register in each case has been determined very much by the amount of interest taken in it, or the supervision that could be exercised over it by the local officer, and in some cases it would appear to have been treated in a very perfunctory manner. In some cases the register has been discontinued for several years consecutively, in others for three or four months only while the rain-gauge was sent to Calcutta for repair, and some sudder stations appear never to have been furnished with rain-gauges. I have omitted many stations, the data of which are generally doubtful, or insufficient to furnish a fair average result, especially those in which the earlier series show a marked discrepancy with the later.’

In like manner a summary of five years' registers of the North-West Provinces, drawn up by Dr. Murray Thomson, apparently without rejection of any, shows discrepancies which at once stamp the greater part of them as worthless. Yet the registration of rainfall is by far the simplest kind of meteorological work that can be attempted, requiring as it does only a few of the most ordinary precautions.

Such being the character of the materials, it is apparent enough why, despite all the labour that has been given to meteorological registration, our knowledge of the meteorology of India is actually but little in advance of its condition twenty years ago. But even had they been all that the most critical meteorologist could desire in point of trustworthiness and accuracy, the actual result would not be very different, so long as official efforts had stopped short at the mere accumulation of the materials. There are indeed some few of these that are really valuable, and might be turned to good account, were it anyone's business or pleasure to do so. Such are, for instance, the registers of the three Presidency observatories, those of Travancore and Goa, Colonel Boileau's at Simla, and a few others which we shall have occasion to refer to presently. But “such are after all”—to quote from a recent report of the Meteorological Reporter for Bengal—“only the *materials* for scientific treatment,” and not the science itself. To extract useful matter from the crude materials, it is necessary “to discuss as well as collect facts, to compare and “correlate them under the guidance of accepted physical laws, “and to endeavour to trace out the causes which operate in

“producing the normal features of our seasons, as well as those of their irregularities, the important influence of which on the welfare of the country has of late years been too painfully obvious.”

This is the kind of work that, in more favoured countries, is performed by a class that scarcely exists in India,—the holders of lectureships and professorships at the great educational centres, and educated men in every walk of professional and private life, who find leisure for intellectual work as a relaxation from business affairs. We fear it will yet be long before such men will be found in India in any numbers. The few that have appeared either among the natives or European officers of Government, have generally devoted their attention to literature; but they are so few, that for many years to come it is hopeless to look to such sources for any material amount of assistance in exploiting the treasures of science of which India presents so rich a field. Till such a class shall come forward to aid in the work, it must be done by Government officers, or the field must lie barren.

Views essentially similar to the above were long ago formally laid before the Government in a report on the collection of meteorological statistics, drawn up in 1864 by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In the measures that have been since adopted to carry out this object, this report appears to have been practically ignored in many of its more essential provisions, and we shall presently see that it is to this neglect that must be attributed the comparative failure, now acknowledged on all hands, that has attended the efforts of Government in this direction.

The action of the Society originated in 1857 in a memorandum by Colonel Strachey, which called the attention of the Society to the inutility of the desultory attempts that had been made up to that time to acquire a knowledge of the meteorology of India, and to “the urgent need of a controlling power—capable of combining the work of all observers.” On Colonel Strachey’s proposition a Committee was formed, which, it appears, was originally intended to discharge such a function; but this was speedily found to be impracticable, and shortly after came the outbreak of the mutinies, and men had little leisure or taste for *dillettante* pursuits when battling for life and supremacy in the land. So meteorology remained in abeyance for five years, and it was not until 1862 that a report was drawn up by the Committee, and embodied in a letter to the Government. In reply to this letter the Society was requested to draw up a scheme for giving practical effect to its recommendations; but delays supervened, and it was not until the beginning of 1865 that the report was laid before Government.

This report will be found printed in the published proceedings of the Society for December 1864. From the memorandum which

accompanies it, and which recounts the circumstances of its preparation, it appears to have been drawn up after prolonged deliberation, and after every endeavour had been made to collect the opinions of all, who, from their scientific acquirements and experience in the country, might be in a position to contribute useful advice or suggestions. We shall give a summary of its principal recommendations, quoting at length the more important passages on which we shall afterwards have occasion to comment.

The report sets out with an emphatic postulate, that "in meteorology, as in all branches of physical science, accuracy of observation and a clearly defined and rational aim are indispensable;" that "labour and money are equally thrown away upon any scheme which does not fulfil these all-important conditions." After illustrating this position at some length, it proceeds:—

'Strongly holding this view, the Committee cannot recommend the adoption of any scheme which does not provide competent means of observation, and skilled and intelligent, in other words, special scientific supervision. They consider that in establishing a system of meteorological registration for India, it may be wise not to aim at much detail, or at very extensive results at the outset, but it will be better to devote whatever sums the Government may grant to meteorology, to provide a small and efficient staff, which may be extended in such manner and direction as experience may hereafter show to be advisable. It should be the duty of this staff, in the first place, to review the existing machinery of observation; to select and improve such parts as may be found capable of yielding useful results; and the rest should be strictly excluded from the Government official record, as being calculated to vitiate the general results, if mixed up with more accurate data. When, by selection and careful supervision, a reliable system of record shall have been established, a central office will be necessary, at which the general results, furnished by the local officers of the staff, may be worked up into such a form as to render them available to Government and Foreign meteorological bodies; and in the interim, the whole system should be under the control of a skilled and trustworthy officer.'

The report then proceeds to discuss the duties of the staff to be entrusted with the practical working of the scheme. This is to consist of a superintendent, seven local officers (one to each of the Governments of India), and local observers, to be selected from those now existing (with others), who should be furnished with compared instruments, and instructions to ensure uniformity of results.

'The superintendent would be the sole responsible officer, to whose intelligence and scientific knowledge the formation and administration of the entire system would be entrusted, and who would be the immediate superior of the local reporters. His duties would be to issue instructions to the local officers, to superintend the comparison

and distribution of instruments, and their repair when necessary. He would * * * receive all local reports, from which he would undertake the preparation of maps and such general reductions of the results of the department, as would bring them into a form readily available to Government and the public for general application. He would also place himself in communication with the meteorological departments of England and other countries, with a view to the exchange of meteorological data, and in order that European science may avail itself of the undoubtedly valuable additions, which systematic observation in an intertropical country, possessing features so marked and varied as those of India, cannot fail to afford. These duties would demand much scientific knowledge and administrative capacity; and indeed the success of the system must, in a great measure, depend on the efficiency of this officer.* * * * The appointment of some such officer is, it is considered, an essential part of any useful scheme of meteorological registration, and the greatest care should be exercised in the selection of a person for the post.

Nothing can be clearer or more to the purpose than the views of the Society as expressed in this and the preceding passages. There was to be one chief officer, to do or control the head-work, and who would be held responsible for that work being done. He was to see that all those preliminary precautions, which, being matters of detail, are, as experience has shown, most apt to be ignored or overlooked, but which are nevertheless absolutely essential to the success of the work, should be rigorously observed and carried out; and it was for him to bring the results into such a form that they should be intelligible and fruitful. In such an appointment was afforded the controlling power, the acknowledged necessity for which was the motive of Colonel Strachey's memorandum and the Society's action in the matter. Yet, strange to say, this, at once the mainspring and balance-wheel of the system, was omitted in the scheme subsequently carried out.

The qualifications and duties of the local reporters are next discussed; but this part of the report we need not quote at length. It is of subordinate importance to the above, and many of its provisions, such as the selection for local report of persons habitually devoted to the pursuit of abstract knowledge, such as the Professors of the Government or other colleges; the requirement of an annual report of results from each reporter, &c., have been partially carried out. But here, again, some essential details are especially insisted on, which have very generally been neglected in practice; more especially those which are intended to keep in view the conditions of accuracy and uniformity, so strongly urged in the outset of the report.

The report then reviews the existing meteorological data, and the machinery for recording them. The registers are classed under

four heads ; 1st, those of the Government observatories at the Presidency towns ; 2nd, those made at Government [Military ?] hospitals ; 3rd, those recorded at civil stations, prisons and police stations ; and 4th, on Government ships. It proposes that the first class of observatories be placed under the local reporters,* that the second be reduced in number, and the observations so limited in kind and quantity that a value may be given to them, "which for the most part they cannot be considered to have at present." The third class is believed to be of little value, and with the exception of a few special cases which are defined, it recommends their abandonment. The fourth class are stated to yield results that are fairly trustworthy, and capable of being much more so, by a little care and attention on the part of the local reporter. The report also suggests the possibility of obtaining valuable observations of a class not included in the above—*viz.*, those made by educated planters and others scattered through the country who are not in the Government service, and recommends that whenever such observations are obtainable, assistance should be afforded by the loan of instruments, &c. Finally, an estimate of the cost is given, amounting to an annual sum of Rs. 57,000, and a preliminary outlay of Rs. 10,000 ; and the report concludes with an emphatic warning that "any attempt to obtain meteorological data on a cheap scale of payments will fail, as previous attempts have failed," and that any expenditure which is so incurred will prove a loss of money, entailing only disappointment on all who look to the registration of Indian meteorology to give information of value in sanitation, agriculture, and the general administration of the country." Alas that this warning fell on heedless ears ! Economy *was* attempted, by dispensing with the head officer who was to control the system. The result is — the actual annual expenditure of a sum exceeding that estimated, and, for the rest, that which we have to relate in the following pages.

It was not, as we have said, until the beginning of 1864, that this report was forwarded to the Government ; and about three months before it was sent in, the memorable cyclone of the 5th October 1864, had roused public attention in Bengal to the importance of a meteorological system, if only for the purpose of warning the port and shipping of the approach of these storms. About the same time, or somewhat earlier, a despatch from the Secretary of State had pressed the subject of the systematic record

* That of Calcutta was and still remains attached to the Surveyor General's Office, and is quite independent of the meteorological department. That of Madras is attached to the Astronomical observatory, and under the charge of the Government

Astronomer, who is also Meteorological Reporter for the Presidency. That of Bombay is under a special Superintendent. There appears to be no meteorological *system* in that Presidency.

of meteorological phenomena upon the attention of the Government of India in connection with the requirements of the Sanitary Commission. On the receipt of this despatch the further discussion of the subject was at once taken out of the hands of the Society, and referred to the Sanitary Commission, on whose recommendation officers termed 'Meteorological Reporters' were appointed in the North West Provinces and the Punjab; the former in February 1865, the latter in April of the same year. Still later (we believe in 1866)* a reporter was appointed in Madras, while in Bengal a Committee was appointed by the Local Government, without reference to any general scheme, to arrange and carry out a system of storm-warnings for the protection of the port of Calcutta. In 1867 the executive duties of this committee were largely increased and made over to a local reporter as under the other Governments.

Thus it arose that instead of a uniform and systematic scheme such as was contemplated by Colonel Strachey and the Asiatic Society, and such as, if it had been carried out at first in its integrity, would by this time in all probability have afforded us some definite knowledge of the meteorology of India, a little independent authority was set up in each Government, to frame and carry out a scheme of its own without reference to any general system—without a thought apparently of more than local wants, and without a suspicion that to obtain any rational knowledge of the local meteorology, a knowledge of that of surrounding provinces and seas might, or rather *must*, be indispensable. But to this subject we shall return in the sequel, when we have to trace the effects of this primary error, as shown in the actual results of the work. We shall first give an account, as far as information is before us, of what has been done in the several Presidencies between 1865 and the present time.

The first step taken by the Sanitary Commission, on being entrusted with the collection of meteorological statistics, was to cause a reporter to be appointed for the North-Western Provinces; and Dr. Murray Thomson, Professor of Chemistry in the Thomason College at Roorkee, was selected for the post. Meteorological registers had been kept with some amount of regularity at six stations in the North-West since December 1862, but up to the time of Dr. Thomson's appointment, they had been merely published in weekly sheets in the *Gazette*, and Dr. Thomson's first duty was to collect these ephemeral publications, and condense the two years' results in two moderate reports. These were published as annual reports for 1863 and 1864. The reports published in subsequent

* We have seen no report of the measures taken in Madras. We believe indeed that none has ever been published, and the only information we have, is derived from private sources and the budget.

years relate in some detail the steps taken by Dr. Murray Thomson to extend and improve the system of record, and are very instructive for our present purpose, since they show at greater length than any of the reports from other provinces, the difficulties attendant on any attempt to obtain good meteorological data when no remuneration is given for the work. We shall condense our account from the five reports for the years 1865-69.

At the six stations referred to above as being already in operation at the time of Dr. Thomson's appointment, the observations were recorded under orders of Government as a part of the medical officer's duty, no paid assistance being allowed. They show in some cases considerable irregularities, such as much impair their value, and it does not appear that their barometric and thermometric observations have ever been corrected to any standard, nor is the elevation of their barometers accurately known. With respect to regularity, in 1865 only five of the six stations furnished registers at all, and one of these was deficient for three months. In 1866 and 1867 one half the registers were imperfect to a similar degree. In 1865, however, Dr. Thomson had obtained a monthly remuneration of Rs. 15 for the native assistants who kept the registers, and at the same time he had increased the value of the latter by the addition of night observations. He also visited and inspected the observatories, a proceeding of which he found them to stand much in need, and he took steps to instruct the native students at the Agra Medical College in the use of meteorological instruments, with a view to future contingencies.

In 1866 he obtained registers from two additional stations, at which officers had volunteered their services. In some respects these appear to be valuable, and they are, no doubt, trustworthy; but they are open to the objection that must always hold in such cases, *viz.*, that their regularity is dependent on the constant presence of the superintending officer; and they cease or become irregular on his departure from the station. Such was the case in both these instances.

A third class of registers discussed in Dr. Thomson's reports for 1866 and the subsequent years, are those from the civil and military hospitals at several stations. Dr. Thomson's experience of these fully bears out the low estimate of their value expressed in the Asiatic Society's report. He says—

'In most of the stations there are more than one hospital, and returns are obtained from each; these are compared with each other; from the means of the whole an abstract is prepared, and this abstract alone is published. At first I was inclined to think that by this plan a trustworthy result would be obtained, but I have so often found the numbers which are put down as the temperature of the same place and hour, to be so different from

each other, that instead of entering the mean, *I was obliged to select the number which appeared to be nearest the truth*, and this was the case also with the direction of the wind as well as other points. The medical officers are not often to blame for the imperfection of their observations, as the only instrument generally supplied is a common thermometer *which may easily be two or three degrees out.**

It might occur to our readers that it would have been better to reject altogether registers showing such discrepancies. The system of selecting 'those that appear nearest the truth' must surely be a very unsafe one, not to speak of the avowedly worthless character of the instruments. Such is the course recommended by the Asiatic Society, and it would probably have been followed by Dr. Thomson, had he felt himself at liberty to exercise his own judgment freely. Apparently, however, he did not so feel, since he says—

'In the proposal, which was submitted to the Government of India with reference to the appointment of reporters on meteorology, by the Sanitary Commission, it was distinctly laid down that the observations made at civil and military hospitals were to be encouraged and turned to useful account as much as possible. This I have endeavoured to do. * * * * I must, however, confess that when the appliances are so imperfect, I am not hopeful of getting results which will contribute much to the science of meteorology in India.'

We shall see that the reporter for the Punjab arrived at a similar conclusion. In Lower Bengal and Madras, where a low opinion of these registers had been derived from past experience, and the reporters were left to their own judgment, these hospital registers were at once rejected as worthless—doubtless to the no small economy of time and worry.

Finding these registers to be untrustworthy, Dr. Thomson endeavoured to provide a substitute for them, by establishing six additional observatories on the same footing as those at the six original stations. He obtained also a small personal allowance for the medical officers in charge of his stations, a measure which had already been carried out in Madras and Bengal, where unpaid work had never been in favour. In 1869 eleven observatories had been established on this footing, and complete registers were furnished by thirteen well-equipped stations altogether.

Dr. Thomson's annual reports give in a tabular form the mean and extreme results of each month's register for each station. They also contain a brief historical weather summary for each month of the year, which is doubtless of use to those sanitary officers who love to trace coincidences between the fluctuations

* Report for 1866.

of temperature, moisture, &c., and those of disease. But we find little that can be called meteorological discussion; there is but little attempt to add to our knowledge of the physical *causes* of the weather-states or changes, and the laws of local variations; and perhaps such a discussion is not very feasible under the patchwork system which has made political boundaries the limits of meteorological provinces. We notice one grave omission in these reports, which indeed can scarcely fail to be perceived by any one who may turn to them for information on the rainfall of the country; but we are unaware whether it is to be attributed to any *lâches* on the part of the meteorological reporter, or to that want of appreciation of the requirements of the work on the part of the superior authorities, which is so abundantly manifested in the mode in which the meteorological system has been set on foot. No general summary of the rainfall returns of the N. W. Provinces forms any part of Dr. Thomson's reports, though a register is kept in every subdivisional station, and the returns are published regularly in the N. W. Provinces *Gazette*. We can only infer from the omission of any reference to these returns in Dr. Thomson's reports, that in the N. W. Provinces, the supervision of rainfall registers is not entrusted to the meteorological reporter. But, whatever may be the reason, it is most assuredly a grave defect in the system. The accuracy of such returns can be judged only by a meteorologist, and it should certainly be a part of his duty to supervise them and place the results on permanent record for future reference.

We now turn to the consideration of other provinces.

In the Punjab, a reporter was appointed in April 1866 in the person of Dr. A. Niel, Professor of Anatomy and Physiology in the Medical School of Lahore. The three reports that have been printed (for the years 1866, 1867 and 1868) give but a meagre account of the system of observation adopted in the Punjab; but it would appear from some passages in the reports, that the officers who furnish the registers are in all cases volunteers, and this inference is borne out by the fact that the sole item of expenditure on meteorology that appears against the Punjab in the Imperial Budget for the current year, is one of Rs. 3,000 for the reporter's salary. We believe, however, that in a few cases, some small allowance is made from local funds to the native observers who keep the registers.

In the three annual reports before us, the registers of 19 stations are given in the form of a brief summary of the mean monthly elements. Of these, however, only two are continuous from the commencement, all the others being defective in one or several months' entire registers, while the majority furnish them for a few months only. We do not here refer to minor deficiencies, such as are due to the temporary want of certain instruments, nor do

we treat as defective those which are wanting for the first months of 1866, the year in which the system was set on foot. The hiatus are evidently due to the circumstances of voluntary work, as we have pointed out above, *viz.*, to the fact that in the case of such work, regularity is dependent on the constancy and continuity of the supervision of the volunteering officer; so that his temporary absence or departure is usually followed by the irregular performance or cessation of the work. But since it is among the primary requirements of a useful system that the registers should be continuous and comparable *inter se*; and since, at all events, the Punjab system does not fulfil the first of these conditions, we cannot regard it as successful, however meritorious may be the exertions of the individual officers who have helped to work it. With respect to the second requirement, we are hardly in a position to form an opinion to what extent it has been met; since, with very few exceptions, Dr. Neil's reports are altogether wanting in descriptive details of the circumstances of the observations, the precautions taken to prevent error, and the methods of reduction by which the published results have been obtained.

Dr. Neil's opinion of the value of the observations taken in civil and military hospitals coincides with those already quoted. He observes, they "are for the most part useless, and scarcely admit of comparison. They represent the *house* temperatures, which are of course influenced by a variety of conditions;" and referring to Mr. Glaisher's meteorological appendix to the report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the sanitary state of the army in India, says, "I can scarcely find one mean temperature correctly given, and the same remark applies generally to the maximum and minimum temperatures."

The Punjab Reports give a historical summary of the weather of each month, similar to that given by Dr. Thomson for the N. W. Provinces, as already noticed, and subject to the same remarks. They also contain reports of the rainfall for thirty-two stations, but, as in the case of the N. W. Provinces, the rainfall registers are not under the supervision of the meteorological reporter, but under the Financial Commissioner,—an arrangement which appears to us somewhat absurd.

Of what has been done in Madras, our information is very meagre. Mr. Pogson, the Government Astronomer, was appointed meteorological reporter for the Presidency, we believe, in 1866; but although a system of registration has been carried out which should by this time have yielded very complete results for three or four years, no report, as far as we can learn, has ever been published, and we are therefore equally unable to ascertain to what extent the system has answered its purpose by affording trustworthy data; and, supposing these to have been satisfactory, to

draw any information from them. The Madras system is that which, with some slight modifications, was subsequently adopted in Bengal and the N. W. Provinces, and was originally proposed, we believe, by the Madras Sanitary Commission. At sixteen stations* observatories have been established under the charge of the Garrison Surgeons, who receive a special monthly allowance of Rs. 30 for superintendence. A native observer is appointed to each station (after preliminary training under the reporter at the Madras observatory) on a salary of Rs. 40 per mensem, and the instruments issued are uniform in pattern and have all been thoroughly tested and compared at the Madras observatory, under the eye of the reporter. The observations are recorded three times daily, viz., at 10 A.M., and at 4 and 10 P.M., and mean values of the elements are deduced from these, by applying corrections obtained from the discussion of the registers of hourly observations, which have been recorded during 20 years at Madras. The legitimacy of this proceeding may, perhaps, be open to question, and at least requires verification. The rainfall is registered at 18 talook stations by the sherishtadars, and these have all been applied with rain-gauges of a uniform pattern, which had been previously examined and tested by the reporter. All registers are sent to the reporter for discussion and publication.

The Madras system is undoubtedly the most complete in its conception and establishment that exists in any of the Presidencies; and if its supervision in working has been equally good, the result ought to afford a very fair conspectus of the meteorology of that Presidency for the last three or four years. But when we come to enquire for that result, we are met with the unsatisfactory reply of De Quincey's *dilettaute* murderer, "*Non est inventus.*"

We now turn to Bengal. In this Presidency, as we have seen above, a Committee was appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor, in March 1865, "to consider the establishment of a system of meteorological observation for the protection of the Port of Calcutta." No report of their operations was ever published by the Committee,† but an account of them is given in the first annual report of the meteorological reporter for Bengal, which may be accepted as official and authentic, as that gentleman had throughout officiated as Honorary Secretary to the Committee. From this we extract the following: "Observers, generally assistants of the Electric Telegraph department, were appointed to a series of stations around

* Including Madras and Secunderabad, at which observatories had previously been established.

† A report on the cyclone of October 5th, 1864, was drawn up by

two members of the Committee, and published by order of the Government of Bengal, but no account is given in this report of any of the Committee's proceedings.

the coasts of the Bay of Bengal (Saugor Island, False Point, Chittagong and Akyab), and to some other stations in communication with Calcutta (Cuttack, Dacca and Darjeeling). They were furnished with instruments for observing the barometric pressure, the humidity of the air and the rainfall, &c. * * *

and were directed to report daily by telegraph the observations of their instruments at 9 h. 30 m. and 16 h., together with an estimate of the wind direction and force, and brief observations on the general appearance of the weather. For these duties they received a monthly allowance of 50 rupees. Similar reports were transmitted from the Madras observatory by the direction of the Government of Madras, and for a time from Kandy in Ceylon. The reports were received at the meteorological observatory attached to the Surveyor-General's office. From these and the Calcutta observatory register for the day, a tabular report was drawn up and submitted every afternoon to the Honorary Secretary to the Committee, or (in his absence) to some other member and then forwarded to the Master Attendant and the 'newspapers.' This much, and the establishment and working of a system of storm signals for the information of the shipping, was the extent of the operations actually undertaken by the Committee. The reports were filed for future use, but those for 1865 and 1866 have not been published. It was not until (in April 1867) a meteorological office under the charge of a reporter was established in Bengal, that any attempt was made to discuss the registers and deduce from them some general conclusions respecting the local meteorology. Concurrently with the appointment of a reporter, ten additional observatories were established under the charge of the local medical officers, and with native observers specially appointed for the work and paid as on the Madras system. One very important provision of that system was, however, not feasible in Bengal, and the reason that it was not so, is so characteristic of the unsystematic manner in which the whole scheme for India has been set on foot, that we must for an instant dwell upon it.

It was recommended by the Asiatic Society, as we have already seen, that the observatories in the Presidency towns should be placed under the local reporters. It is indeed evident that a central observatory is essential to afford the reporter the means of training observers, of comparing the instruments to be used at out-stations, and of carrying out any experiments or inquiries that experience may show to be necessary: without such an establishment, he must be crippled in many of his most important functions. Such an observatory exists in Calcutta, and since, with the exception of the observations for the working of the time-ball, its work is exclusively meteorological, there would seem to be little difficulty in transferring its charge to the local reporter, as common

ense would dictate. Yet this observatory has been allowed to remain totally independent of that officer ; he is deprived of its assistance, and has to carry out, as he best may and with imperfect appliances, those portions of his duties which we have above adverted to, and on the proper execution of which the efficiency of the system must in a great measure depend. In his administrative report for 1868 he says :—

‘For some months after the establishment of my office, the principal difficulties in the way of obtaining trustworthy registers arose from a want of knowledge of instruments and their use on the part of the local observers, and it was but rarely that they could obtain information on such subjects from any local resident. The publication of a little book of instructions and rules for their special use has done much to remove those difficulties, and such training as the means at my command have enabled me to give the native observers appointed to second-class stations, has also helped to raise the character of the registers. But much still remains to be done in this direction, and until means are afforded in Calcutta to train and instruct, by practice in a working observatory, as far as their opportunities allow, all who are appointed either as observers or to the superintendence of observatories, I do not look for that efficiency which I believe to be attainable under the system. Certain recommendations to this end have been submitted to Government and are now under consideration.’

This was written in the beginning of 1869, but up to the present time the observatory remains *in statu quo*.

The results of the Bengal system, as far as they have been published, are summed up in three annual reports, the last of which (for 1869) contains the returns of twenty-one stations,* given in the form of monthly summaries. These returns are in some respects more complete than those of the other provinces, since the elevations of the stations and other circumstances have been determined with sufficient accuracy to allow of the data being rendered comparable and such as to afford a view of the distribution of mean atmospheric pressure, temperature, &c., in each month of the year. In his last report, Mr. Blanford has discussed the more striking meteorological features of the two years 1868 and 1869, and has pointed out, as far as he is able to do so from the review of a limited area, what appears to be the normal distribution of temperature and atmospheric pressure during the two monsoons, together with certain irregularities which had a marked influence on the rainfall of the two years under review. Thus, a connection is shown between the local cloudiness of the sky, the intensity of the solar heat, and the consequent mean temperature of the air, which in its

* These, however, include three furnished by the reporters for Madras stations, the registers of which are and the N.W.P.

turn appears to have directly influenced the atmospheric pressure, and consequently the winds and the amount of rainfall. The discussion is interesting enough as far as it goes, and at least tends to confirm the expectations of those who look to a well-devised system of meteorological investigation in India to throw light on many of the most important problems of the science. But it would be an over-estimate of the value of this discussion to regard it as affording more than a promise of important results. In the first place, we may remark that very considerable doubt attaches to the value of the Messrs. Schlagintweit's isothermal charts which are taken as a standard of comparison. We know what data were used in their construction, *viz.*, those very medical registers, of the value of which, in regard to the rainfall returns, Mr. Blanford has himself given a somewhat low estimate; and we have already shown that a rainfall register is less open to vitiation by carelessness or ignorance than is one of temperature observations. Secondly, any discussion of the meteorology of a small section of a country, such as Bengal is in relation to India, must necessarily be imperfect and unsatisfactory when treated exclusively and *per se*. The causes, of which we experience the effects, lie in great part without our area, and *vice versa*; and since, under the present system, each reporter is virtually restricted to his own province, any comprehensive treatment of our meteorology becomes impossible. And unfortunately, although we have now before us the summarized registers for at least the whole of Northern India for two years, there is such diversity in the form of their presentation, and deficiency in those data that are requisite to render them uniform and comparable, that any complete discussion of them is, even now, not feasible.

Another distinctive feature of the Bengal reports is that, keeping in view the original object of the department, the meteorology of the Bay of Bengal, more especially with reference to cyclonic storms, is treated of, in addition to that of the province itself. Indeed, this part of the Bengal reporter's duties, by bringing under his cognizance a largely increased area, places him in an exceptionally favourable position as compared with his colleagues (who are restricted to their own landlocked provinces), and has enabled him to attempt something like a scientific discussion of his data. An additional advantage which he appears to enjoy, is the possession of an office establishment competent to relieve him of the mere mechanical part of his work, which his brother reporters have to perform for themselves. In some respects, therefore, Bengal appears to be a favoured province.

In Bengal, as in Madras, the reporter has the entire control of the rainfall registers, which are now kept at all subdivisional stations. These have lately been furnished with gauges of a

uniform pattern, and if the returns are properly supervised, they should be fairly trustworthy.

In the Central Provinces a system of registration was set on foot in 1868 by the Sanitary Commissioner, Dr. Townshend. The system is simpler and considerably less costly than that of the other provinces (except the Punjab), and is administered by Dr. Townshend himself. Eight observatories have been established under the charge of the local medical officers. Observations of the principal instruments are recorded twice daily, *viz.*, at 10 A.M. and 4 P.M. by the medical subordinates, who receive Rs. 15 per mensem for their work. We have not seen any general report of the results, but a monthly summary prepared in the office of the Sanitary Commissioner is published in the *Central Provinces Gazette* with great regularity. If we were sure that the elevations of the observatories had been accurately determined, and the barometric and thermometric readings corrected to a common standard, little more would be required to render these summaries valuable data; we observe, indeed, a few evident errors in the printed summaries, but with close detailed supervision (a *sine qua non* of any official system of registration) the system appears susceptible of yielding very useful results. We believe that a somewhat similar system has been established in the Berars, but we are without any information of its working.

In Bombay, meteorological registration has been carried on for some years. The Colaba observatory was established in 1841 for recording magnetical variations, in accordance with the recommendations of the Royal Society: and the observations (of both the magnetic and meteorological instruments), which were recorded hourly during the twenty years from 1845 to 1864, have been published in twenty-one quarto volumes. There are, in addition, four stations in the Presidency at which, for some years past, observations have been recorded in the local military hospitals, by European sergeants appointed to the duty on a salary of Rs. 55 per mensem. These registers are transmitted to the Colaba observatory for the reduction of the observations, and are then sent home. What may be their final destination is not very clear, but it does not appear that they have ever been utilized for obtaining a knowledge of the meteorology of Western India.

In Burmah, except at Akyab and Port Blair, which are in connection with the Bengal system, no attempt has been made to register the meteorological phenomena. An excellent series of observations, recorded for a short period at Rangoon by Dr. Fayer, and published in the *Asiatic Society's Journal*, and a few rainfall registers for coast stations, are the only data we have from any part of this important province.

From the foregoing review of the measures that have been carried out for the collection of meteorological statistics during the past six years, the conclusion is, we think, inevitable, that they have proved a failure. For a large part of India we have absolutely no information—the registers, which have been obtained at a considerable cost, having been kept back (for reasons which are not assigned), or sent to England to be thrust away among the records of the India House, or otherwise lost sight of. In another part, again, nothing has been done; and, finally, those Provinces which have furnished printed returns, have for the most part given them to us with such imperfections and deficiencies that they are not comparable the one with the other, and cannot be made so without additional data which are not at present forthcoming. We do not wish to exaggerate the failure, nor to assert that such results as we have are radically worthless. Nay, we believe that, by judicious measures and the expenditure of a sum that would make but an insignificant addition to the present annual outlay, a large proportion of the data already amassed might be rendered of service to science; but there is but little hope of this under the present system, and therefore—and because at best its results must be partial and imperfect—it is a failure.

Neither do we wish to impute blame to the officers who have had charge of the collection of the statistics in the several provinces. Our office is not to impute blame, but to point out error; and it is very possible that these gentlemen's efforts may have been defeated by the want of adequate means. But it would be as unreasonable to expect success from any scheme in which the management is divided between a number of independent heads, as to expect a victorious campaign with an army in which every General of division should have an independent command.

In truth, the error which has gone far to render the scheme abortive, is fundamental. It is the error against which the Government was emphatically warned by the authority that it had consulted and that was best able to advise; and the results of neglecting that warning are precisely those that were foretold. Under the short-sighted leadership of Sir John Lawrence, it was lured astray by the *ignis fatuus* of a false economy, which, as our opening statement shows, it has failed to secure. Rejecting the advice of skilled counsellors, it confided the task of devising and executing a scheme to the Sanitary Commission, a body almost necessarily devoid of any special qualification for the purpose. The result is before us. The expenditure has now exceeded that estimated in the scheme of the Asiatic Society and which appeared so formidable, and has proved "a loss of money, entailing only disappointment on all who look to the registration of Indian meteorology to give information of value."

In general, it is easy to condemn, less easy to remedy and re-construct ; but in the present case there is no difficulty in indicating the course that must be followed in order to avoid the errors of the past. The present failure is so manifestly due to the absence of purpose and of united effort, and to incompleteness of system, that the mere concentration of the management in the hands of one qualified chief will at once remove most of the causes of imperfection. Without going so far as to assert that the Asiatic Society's scheme is perfect in all its parts, we believe that in its principles and main features it furnishes the groundwork of a very effectual reform. Experience has shown that it is not practicable to obtain good registers, even of the ordinary kind, on a purely gratuitous or voluntary system. This necessitates an item of expenditure not contemplated in the scheme. But, on the other hand, the present outlay on the mere collection of data is, we think, in excess of that which is absolutely needful, and out of all proportion to that which is incurred for utilizing the records so obtained. The saving that may be effected on the former will at least go some way to provide what is yet needed for the latter. Let, then, the present system be consolidated and reformed. Let the best man there can be found for the purpose, a good physicist at all events, be appointed Director or Superintendent for the whole of India, and let it be left to him to carry out reforms, and to bring together and discuss results. In this work the local officers or reporters (for their retention will probably be found necessary) may give good assistance. In the laboratories of the great chemists of Europe, it is customary for the pupils to carry outtrains of research, of which the leading ideas are furnished by the director and teacher ; and thus, instead of the pupils wasting labour by re-treading the oft-trod ground of their manuals, and instead of the thoughts and suggestions of the chemist being left unfruitful for want of time to elaborate them and work them out, science is advanced by a judicious division of labour. May we not take a useful hint from this practice? It is not every man who possesses the suggestive faculty in the degree requisite for originating scientific enquiry. It is comparatively a rare gift. But many who are in a great measure devoid of it, may do good work in following out and verifying an idea once put before them. Some such idea was probably in Colonel Strachey's mind, when, as he recently stated at a meeting of the Asiatic Society, he proposed to Government to invite Professor Tyndall to India for a few years to set on foot an investigation of Indian meteorology. The proposal was, we believe, accepted by Government, and the invitation made ; but the project had to be abandoned in consideration of the imperious demands of Professor Tyndall's engagements at home.

Men of Professor Tyndall's standing are not, of course, often to be met with, and the utmost that could be expected of such a one, would be a visit of a year or two to a country, which, as a place of residence, presents but few attractions to a man of active intellect. But, as a field for research, more specially of meteorological research, perhaps no country in the world offers a richer promise. And among the young and ambitious men now pressing forward to the front rank of science, some one might be induced by this consideration to forego for a year or two the advantages of Europe, in order to work out, in a country exceptionally favoured by nature for the purpose, some of the great unsolved problems which physical meteorology presents. Could such a man be found, it might be well worth our while to add to this natural inducement any pecuniary offer that might tempt him for a time to India,—to put a little meaning and purpose into our work, to lay a foundation, and sketch out a plan that lesser workmen could complete. The impulse once given—this uncreative and purposeless plodding once broken in upon, men of second-rate powers might be left to carry on the work.

We have spoken of the richness of the field which India presents to the meteorologist. In the natural advantages that it possesses for meteorological enquiry, it is perhaps unequalled, certainly unsurpassed, by any equally accessible region. And we are not alone in this opinion. The President of the Asiatic Society took occasion in his recent annual address to draw attention prominently to the peculiar advantages that we possess in India for advancing the science of meteorology, and a similar opinion has been more than once expressed by others equally interested in the subject. Let us note, in a few words, some of the more prominent of these advantages. We shall state them in very general terms; but it is not our intention to attempt more than an illustration of the fact, and general terms will suffice for the purpose.

We need hardly remind our readers that the heat of the sun is the primary cause of all atmospheric movements and changes, as indeed of nearly all other movement and change on the earth. But since every change is in its turn the cause of other changes, and these again of effects still more remote, the resulting phenomena speedily become so complex, that in extra-tropical countries, where meteorology has been chiefly studied, the laws of the direct solar action can only be detected, in most cases, as small residual regularities, when the irregularities which are the only obvious phenomena have been eliminated, by discussing the observations of long periods. In the tropics the reverse case holds: the regular variations are predominant, and the more so, the nearer any place is to the *locus* of greatest heat. Now the thermal

equator of the earth, the line of greatest mean temperature, traverses a considerable portion of India, and, as Dove's charts show, this is one of the hottest parts of that line, and India therefore is one of the hottest regions on the earth's surface. During a considerable portion of the year a centre of insolation is situated within India, and all the phenomena of direct solar action are here exhibited in their most favourable and striking form. We have examples of this fact in the well known predominance of the barometric tides (as they are termed), which here produce an oscillation of the barometric column twice daily, amounting to about one-tenth of an inch on an average; and which are never suppressed, except during the actual passage of a cyclone vortex. Meteorologists are by no means agreed as the cause of these tides. Dove and Sabine, for instance, attribute them to the action of the sun's heat on the two constituents of the atmosphere—dry air and water vapour; Lamont to the sun's electric action, and Broun to magnetism; while those who, with ourselves, are inclined to the first view, differ greatly in their conceptions of the *modus operandi* of the agent. For the solution of such problems as this, India offers overwhelming advantages.

So far as to the intensity of the agent. But the effect, as is well known, varies with the character of the earth's surface. The greatest contrast is presented by extensive tracts of land and sea, a contrast which is usually spoken of as that of continental and maritime conditions. On large tracts of land the heat of the sun is mainly expended in heating the ground and the lower strata of the air; while at night the heat of the earth is freely radiated into space. On the other hand, where the heat is incident on a sea surface, it is employed chiefly in evaporating the water, and the vapour or partially condensed vapour, suspended in the air, prevents any considerable cooling at night. As may be verified by any one who makes a sea voyage, the temperature of the sea water scarcely varies more than a degree during the twenty-four hours, and the air above it only two or three degrees. In dry regions, on the other hand, the diurnal range of the thermometer is sometimes as much as 60°. In India, in the tract to the west of the Aravalli range, and on the seas which enclose the peninsular, we have this contrast of conditions in an extreme form, and every intermediate gradation is to be met with in one part or another of this great country. Other contrasts again are presented in the snow-capped Himalaya and the Gangetic plain at its foot; in the arid plains and hills of the Punjab, and the rich damp forests of the Western Ghats and Eastern Bengal; in the table lands of Mysore, Central India and Bundelcund, and the plains of the Carnatic and Bengal, each differing from the other in some essential character, and each therefore

causing a different modification of the sun's action on the atmosphere. Hence the great variety of climate to be met with within our territories.

Finally, a third and prominent peculiarity, which has hitherto attracted little attention, but which is of high importance to our present object, is the remarkable persistence, not only of the regular and recurrent features of our climate, but of minor irregularities in the distribution of heat and atmospheric pressure, and consequently of wind, rainfall and all other weather-elements,—a state of things which is peculiarly favourable to the study of their interdependence. It is well known that our seasons differ considerably in different years, and very frequently any anomalous character in the beginning of a season lasts throughout. If, for instance, there is an unusually heavy rainfall in one district or province, and an absence of rain in another, in June and July, the excess in the one and drought in the other frequently continues throughout the rainy season. Such was the case in the autumn of 1868, when the rainfall in parts of Bengal was the heaviest on record, while the North-Western Provinces, Rajputana and a portion of the Punjab, suffered severely from drought and consequent famine. The recurrent famines in Orissa afford another sad illustration of the same fact. In the latter province, the deficiency of rainfall apparently depends on the prevalence of westerly winds, and it is probable that these will eventually be found to depend in their turn on an excess of atmospheric pressure in Rajputana and the dry tracts to the westward, over that of Bengal, such as always exists during the hot season. Whatever be the cause, its persistence is implied in the persistence of the effect, and thus it seems possible not only to trace out the causes of these famines, but even, it may be to some extent, to foretell them.

We have now endeavoured to show that, simply as a field for the prosecution of the science, India possesses unusual advantages; and it is on this ground that we advocate such reforms of the existing system of meteorological enquiry as will make it subservient to that object. Incidentally, we have referred in the last paragraph to one of the most important probable applications of the knowledge to be gained; and we recognise as a fact that in a poor country such as India, the expenditure of any considerable sum of the public money on meteorological registration is only to be justified by the expectation that it will yield a return in the shape of information of general utility. But we would strongly deprecate the substitution of any of the useful applications of meteorological knowledge for that of the science itself, as the immediate object of a systematic enquiry. Twice has this error been committed, and in each instance with the result of signal failure. In 1847 an attempt was made to

register temperature and rainfall for the information of the Board of Revenue, but no information of any value was obtained, nor could it have been reasonably expected from such crude data. In 1865, again, sanitary measures were the object of a similar but more costly attempt, and, once more, with the result of avowed failure. Let us now try a more rational course and make simple knowledge the first object of attainment. Perhaps we may find that the road that leads most directly to a knowledge and comprehension of our meteorology, is also the shortest road to those utilitarian objects that we have vainly sought to reach by short cuts. The experiment is at least worth the trial, and has the warrant of experience for its success. It is an aphorism so tite as to be almost a truism, that the great triumphs of modern art are based on scientific truths which were sought for for the truth's sake, and not for that of the material benefits that have flowed from them. The alchemists sought for gold and the 'elixir,' and reaped poverty and a premature old age. Modern chemistry seeks simply to discover natural laws, and under her magic touch heaps of waste and refuse become rich mines of the coveted metal, and she gives chloroform and quinine to assuage pain and restore health. It is needless to multiply illustrations of a fact so patent. The general truth needs but to be stated to gain the assent of all intelligent men; nor should we assert it thus prominently, were it not that, as the present case has shown, men do not habitually and readily translate general truths into the form of their particular applications.

If the course we have advocated be followed, if meteorology be no longer confounded with fiscal questions and sanitation, but be pursued as a science under the guidance of men acquainted with physical science and its methods, perchance Revenue Boards and Sanitary Commissioners may obtain the information which they require for their own special objects, and which they have failed to obtain by their own efforts; and in some future number of the *Review* we may be able to discuss a more interesting theme than that of the present article — to substitute an account of scientific facts gained for that of inchoate attempts to gain them, and to change our title from "Meteorology in India" to "the Meteorology of India."

ART. VII.—BENGALI LITERATURE.

Lives of the Bengali Poets. By Hari Mohan Mukurjya.
Calcutta: New Sanskrit Press. 1869.

Mitra Prakas. No. 1. Dacca: 1870.

THE intellectual position of the Bengáli among the races of India may be a prominent one at the present day, but in earlier times it was one of the lowest. It is a Bengáli writer, Bábu Rajendralála Mitra, who has said that in ancient times Bengal was the Bœotia of India. And the observation is correct. The contributions of Bengal to that ancient Indian literature which still commands the respect and attention of European scholars, were few and insignificant. The only Bengáli Sanskrit poet of any eminence was Jayadeva, and he does not stand in the first rank. There is not one Bengáli name which can compare with those of Kálidása, Mággha, Bháruvī and Śrīharsa*. In other departments the only distinguished Bengáli name in the older Sanskrit literature is that of Kullúka Bhatta, the commentator on Manu. The great Bengáli triumphs in the Nyáya philosophy and in law cannot be reckoned as falling within this period. The names of Raghunandana and Jagannátha belong to very recent days.

It is difficult to determine the date of the oldest Bengáli writers, but probably few of their books are more than three hundred years old. Vidyápati, whose lyrics are perhaps the finest in the language, is certainly one of the first. Mukundarám Chakravartī, commonly known as Kabi Kankan, and the author of the *Chandi* poems, lived during the reign of Akbar. The *Chaitanya Charitámrita* is also one of the oldest Bengáli books. But, however uncertain their exact date may be, the literary productions of Bengal naturally group themselves into five separate classes, different in spirit and to some extent successive in order of time; and, if this be borne in mind, the want of exact dates need cause no difficulty in understanding the brief criticisms which follow.

The first in order are the lyric poets, at the head of whom must be placed Vidyápati. They are exclusively Vaisnavite, and their songs either celebrate the amours of Krishna or the holiness of Chaitanya. They are still sung by bands of Bairágis and are popularly known under the name of *kírtan*. Their number is immense. The present writer has in his possession a collection which contains more than three thousand of these songs, and he believes that there are other collections equally voluminous. The music to which they are set is peculiar, and is not ordinarily understood even by the professional musicians of Bengal. These, in fact, profess to hold *kírtan* music in utter contempt, but it nevertheless possesses

a sweetness and pathos not ordinarily found in Indian music. The effect, however, is often marred by the discordant sound of the cymbals and drums by which it is accompanied. But if the music is peculiar, the language is no less so. Many of these songs are probably very modern, but others are undoubtedly the most ancient extant specimens of the Bengáli language; and in these the language is more like the Hindi of Tulsí Dás than the Bengáli of the present day. Doubtless early Bengáli and early Hindi differed little, if at all, from each other, and the present divergence is due to the operation of phonetic change in the same vernacular spoken by different branches of the same race, which were separated from each other by the revolution which followed the breaking up of the great empire of the Guptas of Magadha, or by others which are now lost in the silent darkness of Indian history.

It could scarcely be expected that so immense a collection as this Vaisnavite storehouse should be of uniform merit, and one may well wish that nine-tenths of these songs had never been composed; but among the other one-tenth there are gems of rare merit, which in tenderness of feeling have never been surpassed by anything in Bengáli literature, and barely equalled by the best writers of the present day.

This school constitutes the literature of Chaitanyaism, while the second we have to notice represents Bengáli Pauranism. The principal productions of this school are the Bengáli version of the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*. Their authors, Kasidás and Krittibás, were not mere translators of the great Indian epics. They did not attempt so much in one sense, yet they achieved something more. Taking the story and the matter in general from their great originals, they gave free scope to their own fancy, and in many places established a claim to originality. We do not mean to say that they improved upon the originals, unless it were by greatly curtailing the tremendous bulk of the Sanskrit compositions; but the new matter which they added, while it detracts from the grandeur of the original conceptions of the Sanskrit poets, would, if embodied in some other form, have given them a certain position among original writers. Mukundarám Chakravartí—Kabi Kankan—though he followed no Sanskrit original, belongs to the same school, and deservedly enjoys a higher reputation than either Krittibás or Kasidás. Many passages of his book are touchingly beautiful, but we cannot afford space for extracts. The language of these poets shows no traces of Hindi: but it is still very different from modern Bengáli. In poetic power they are decidedly inferior to the best of the Vaisnava poets.

The third class of writers we shall notice are those who flourished under the Nuddea Raja, Krishna Chandra. They enjoy an

undeserved celebrity, and are, in our opinion, a very worthless set. The best known among them is Bhárat Chandra Ráy, who was till lately considered the best of the Bengáli poets,—an opinion not yet known eradicated, but fast losing ground. Bhárat Chandra is chiefly wholly by his *Vidhya Sundara* and his *Annadá Mangal*. Neither work has much merit, though an exception must be made in favour of the character of Hira, the flower-girl, a coarse but racy and vigorous portrait, not equalled by anything of its kind in Bengáli. One other great distinction, however, must be accorded to Bhárat Chandra. He is the father of modern Bengáli. His versification, too, is very good, and it is the model followed by many distinguished poets of the present day, as, for instance, Bábu Ranga Lál Banerji. In the higher attributes of a poet, Bhárat Chandra is far inferior to many who have preceded and followed him. His works are disfigured, too, by a disgusting obscenity which unfits them for republication at a time when Bengáli readers are not all of the rougher sex.

There is perhaps nothing more lamentable in the whole history of literature than the school of Bengáli writers who followed the Nuddea poets and preceded the present generation. There is scarcely any readable work (readable even in the sense in which Bhárat Chandra's poems are readable) belonging to that age—the age of the *Naba Babu Bilas* and the *Prabuddha Chandrika*; as for literary filth, there never was a more copious supply. Happily, the whole mass of rubbish has vanished from public recollection.

To this period belongs the well known *kabi*, of which the wealthy Hindus of the last generation were so passionately fond, and on which they lavished immense sums of money. The *kabi* was a series of songs not often much connected with each other, sung by two opposite bands of performers. Each sought to abuse the other, and the more pungent the abuse, the greater was the triumph of the abuser and the pleasure of the listeners. The singing was generally the most execrable to which human folly has ever given the name of music, though in a few cases the airs were sweet and elegant. The matter was often either common-place or laboured extravagance, though among the songs of Ram Basu, Haru Thakur and Nitai Das, there are some of peculiar excellence. The following prose translation is from one of those most popular in the present day. It may be called *The Young Wife's Lament*, and it will be understood only by those who know the very young Bengáli wife, who has learned to love but is too timid to speak :

‘It is the spring of the year, and it is the spring of my life ;
And the lord of my life has left me for a far distant land.
He came to me with a smile and told me he would go :
I saw that smile, and that smile filled my eyes with tears.
I could not let him go ; my heart would have made him stay ;

But shame said, "Fie ! do not do not keep him back."
 So the sorrow of my heart is within my heart shut up.
 I would have told it to him when he went to the far-off land ;
 But when I was about to speak, I could not.'

We have preferred to give this specimen rather than others of superior merit, because it is the most popular *kabī* among Bengālis at the present day.

There is one other writer—himself a class—whom we wish to notice before we proceed to consider the present state of Bengāli literature. We mean Iswar Chandra Gupta. He stands between the past and the present, and singularly illustrates the literary poverty of the age in which he lived, and the progress that has been made within the last few years. A dozen years have not elapsed since Iswar Chandra Gupta died, yet we speak of him as belonging to a past era ; so essentially does he differ from the more prominent writers of the present day.

He was a very remarkable man. He was ignorant and uneducated. He knew no language but his own, and was singularly narrow and unenlightened in his views ; yet for more than twenty years he was the most popular author among the Bengālis. As a writer of light satiric verse, he occupies the first place, and he owed his success both as a poet and as an editor to this special gift. But there his merits ended. Of the higher qualities of a poet he possessed none, and his work was extremely rude and uncultivated. His writings were generally disfigured by the grossest obscenity. His popularity was chiefly owing to his perpetual alliteration and play upon words. We have purposely noticed him here in order to give the reader an idea of the literary capacity and taste of the age in which a poetaster like Iswar Chandra Gupta obtained the highest rank in public estimation. And we cannot even say that he did not deserve to be placed in the highest rank among his Bengāli contemporaries, for he was a man of some literary talent, while none of the others possessed any. However much we may lament the poverty of Bengāli literature, the last fifteen years have been a period of great progress and hope ; within that time at least a dozen writers have arisen, every one of whom is immensely superior, in whatever is valuable in a writer, to this —the most popular of their predecessors.

Strange as it may appear, this obscure and often immoral writer was one of the precursors of the modern Brahminists. The charge of obscenity and immorality mainly applies to his poetry. His prose is generally free from both vices, and often advocates the cause of religion and morality. We extract the following passage from the prose portion of the *Hita Prabhākar* to illustrate his Brahministic tendencies. His acquaintance with the leading tenets of the ancient Indian systems of philosophy ought not to surprise

anyone, even though we have said that he was uneducated ; for they were pretty well known to most Bengalis of the same amount of culture in a generation which is fast dying out.

‘O Lord there is none among men who can discover what Thou art ! Art Thou formless or form ? How may I know what Thou art ? No man can tell whether even Thou knowest Thyself, for art Thou not the Unknowable ? What name can I give Thee, but Thou ? What else can I call Thee ? Shall I call Thee the conditioned or the unconditioned ? The active or the inactive ? The unmade or the maker ? The sum of all qualities or the absolute ? The one alone or the aggregate of all ? What shall I call Thee ? Who will tell me what I shall call Thee ? Philosophers have not seen the end. The Shastras do not agree. One teaches one thing, and another teaches another. * * * Each has gone as far as his powers lead him, but the indescribable could not be described, and no eye of human knowledge could reach so far as where Thou went. O Father, what is this which calls itself Me ? I know not myself ; how then can I know Thee ? Who is this I ? Why do I call myself me ? Is it by my own power ? I call myself me, or is it Thou ? and is the power Thine ? So, whose is the power to call myself me, mine or Thine ? Who says it ? Who says what I have said, I or Thou ? Why have I this body ? or is the body mine ? Why has a body been attached to me to make me a compound being ? and why is this body self-conscious ? What is this body ? and who am I that inhabit it ? Am I the same being which I was, when I first became myself within this body ?’

Iswar Chandra Gupta is now fast falling into oblivion, and we must proceed to notice the class of writers who have superseded him. But before doing so, we must premise a few words on the present general condition of Bengali literature.

One of the most noticeable characteristics of Bengal at the present day is the large amount of literary activity to be found there in comparison with other parts of India. But while books and newspapers are daily pouring from the press, the quality of our current literature is by no means proportioned to its bulk. In fact, by far the greatest part what is published is absolute rubbish. There are several modern Bengali books of which we shall have to speak in terms of high praise, but the number of these is so small in comparison with the mass of publications yearly vomited forth by the Bengali press, that they go but a little way towards redeeming the character of the whole. We can scarcely expect a better state of things from the class of men who compose the rank and file of Bengali authors and Bengali critics. Authorship in Bengal is the vocation of half-educated scribblers. The educated native has a sort of ultra-utilitarian contempt for the office, and considers himself above writing in his own language. The case of criticism is worse. We can hardly hope for a healthy

like intelligent criticism. The educated Bengali fails in this department almost as much as the antiquated pundit, in consequence no doubt of deficient culture.

Those who are familiar with the present writers in Bengali, will readily admit that they all, good and bad alike, may be classed under two heads, the Sanskrit and the English schools. The former represents Sanskrit scholarship and the ancient literature of the country; the latter is the fruit of Western knowledge and ideas. By far the greater number of Bengali writers belong to the Sanskrit school; but by far the greater number of good writers belong to the other.

It may be said that there is not at the present day anything like an indigenous school of writers, owing nothing either to Sanskrit writers or to those of Europe. The Sanskrit school takes for its models the later Sanskrit writers, and they are remarkably deficient in originality. The greater originality of the writers of the English school is the point in which their superiority to the Sanskrit school is most marked. It is characteristic of the Sanskrit school that they seldom venture on original composition. Even Vidyāsāgar's ambition soars no higher than adaptations and a few translations. When they do venture on original composition, they are rarely caught straying beyond the beaten track, beyond a reverential repetition of things which have been said over and over again from time immemorial. If love is to be the theme, Madana is invariably put into requisition with his five flower-tipped arrows; and the tyrannical king of Spring never fails to come to fight in his cause, with his army of bees, and soft breezes, and other ancient accompaniments. Are the pangs of separation to be sung? The moon is immediately cursed and anathematized, as scorching the poor victim with her cold beams. The Kokila is described as singing him to destruction; and bees and soft breezes and sweet flowers are enumerated in the order in which they were marshalled in prehistoric times. No lovely woman in the pages of these writers has any other form of loveliness than a moon face, lotus eyes, hair that is a cloud, and a nose that resembles Garuda's beak.

In point of style these writers hardly shine more than in ideas. Time-honoured phrases are alone employed; and a dull pompous array of high-sounding Sanskrit words continues to grate on the ear in perpetual recurrence. Anything which bears the mark of foreign origin, however expressive or necessary it may be, is jealously excluded.

It was reserved to Tekchánd Thakur to deal the first blow to this insufferable pedantry, and all honour to the man who did it. Endowed as he was with strong common sense as well as high culture, he saw no reason why this idol of unmixed

diction should receive worship at his hands, and he set about writing *Alâter Gharer Dulâl* in a spirit at which the Sanskrit-ists stood aghast and shook their heads. Going to the opposite extreme in point of style, he vigorously excluded from his works, except on very rare occasions, every word and phrase that had a learned appearance. His own works suffered from the exclusion, but the movement was well-timed. In matter he scattered to the winds the time-honoured common-places, and drew upon nature and life for his materials. His success was eminent and well-deserved.

In Tekchând Thakur's steps followed other writers who met with equal or greater success, among whom we may name Kali Prosunno Singh as a novelist, Michael Madhusudan Datta as a poet, and Dinabandhu Mitra as a dramatist.

There are few Bengalis now living who have a greater claim to our respect than Pundit Iswar Chandra Vidyasâgar. His exertions in the cause of Hindu widows, the noble courage with which he, a pundit and a professor, first advocated their cause, the patient research and indefatigable industry with which he sought to maintain it, his large-hearted benevolence, and his labours in the cause of vernacular education—all these things combine to place him in the front rank of the benefactors of his country. His claims to the respect and gratitude of his countrymen are many and great, but high literary excellence is certainly not among them. He has a great literary reputation; so had Iswar Chandra Gupta: but both reputations are undeserved, and that of Vidyasâgar scarcely less so than that of Gupta. If successful translations from other languages constitute any claim to a high place as an author, we admit them in Vidyasâgar's case; and if the compilation of very good primers for infants can in any way strengthen his claim, his claim is strong. But we deny that either translating or primer-making evinces a high order of genius; and beyond translating and primer-making Vidyasâgar has done nothing. His brief discourse on Sanskrit literature deserves, and his widow marriage pamphlets claim, no notice here. If we exclude the school-books for children, his translations are five in number:—the *Betal Panchabinsati* from the Hindi; *Sakuntalâ*, *Sitâr Banabâs*, and the introduction to the *Mahâbhârata* from the Sanskrit; and the *Bhrântibilâs* or *Comedy of Errors* from the English. Of these it is enough to say that they are excellent translations or adaptations, better probably than anything else of the same kind in Bengali. The *Sitâr Banabâs* is as little original as the others. The first chapter is taken from the *Uttara Râmacharita*, Bhavabhuti's noble work; and the remaining three from the *Ramayana* itself, from which Bhavabhuti too drew his inspiration. It is in fact a reproduction, in smooth and flowing

but somewhat nerveless language, of scenes selected from Valmiki's poem. The scenes are well chosen, and the expulsion of the supernatural element gives them a more realistic tone, but Vidyasagar is not free from the tautology and bombast which always disfigure the writers of the school to which he belongs.

The only other writer of the Sanskrit school whom we shall stop to mention, is Pandit Ram Narayan Tarkaratna; and we mention him more on account of his reputation than for any merit to be found in his writings. Among his plays are *Kulin Kula Surbaswa*, directed against the evils of Kulinism, and *Naba Natak*, a protest against polygamy. He has also made translations of the *Ratnavali*, the *Maluti Madhava* and *Sakuntala*. These translations are execrably bad, and, like his original works, full of bombastic writing. On the whole we consider that this writer's popular reputation is entirely undeserved.

It is with pleasure that we turn from him to the Anglicist school of writers. We have already mentioned Tekchand Thakur, the *nom de plume* of Babu Peary Chand Mitra. His best work is the *Alaler Gharer Dulal*, which may be said to be the first novel in the Bengali language. The story is extremely simple and may soon be told. Baburam Babu of Baidyabati is an old Kulin Brahman, who has amassed a large fortune by fleecing the suitors in a Court of which he was an employé. He has retired on his gains, and is a zemindar and merchant. He has four children, two sons and two daughters. The eldest son, Mati Lal, is an ignorant, selfish, dissipated young fellow—spoiled from the effect of the over-indulgent treatment of his father. A Gurumahāsāy who had taught him Bengali, an ignorant Pujari Brahman, employed from motives of economy as Sanskrit tutor, and a retired tailor who instructed him in Persian, laboured, as might have been anticipated, with but indifferent success. The Gurumahāsāy, after some little time, retired from office in consequence of the playful habits of his pupil, who used to put quick-lime in his daily whey, deposit burning embers in the folds of his garments, and indulge in many other like pleasantries. The Pujari resigned because he found it impossible to restrain his scholar's habit of throwing brick-bats at the head of his instructor, as occasion offered. The Mūshī's experience as a teacher abruptly closed, on the occasion of his discovering that Mati Lal had amused himself by setting fire to his venerable beard.

Highly gratified with the progress which his son had made in Oriental learning, Baburam Babu now thought it time that he should learn English. So Mati Lal was sent to Calcutta, where he attended an English school. But he did no more good at English than at Persian and Sanskrit, and preferred to devote his time with other congenial spirits to cards, dice, cock-fighting,

kite-flying, and other amusements. At the same time he took to smoking tobacco and charas, as well as to drinking brandy. One day he and his companions were taken up by the police for gambling in a house of ill-fame. They were all convicted and imprisoned, except Mati Lal himself, who got off through the masterly way in which Miyáján Miya, an old friend of his father, proved an *alibi*. However, this occurrence put an end to Mati Lal's English studies, and he at once returned home and soon afterwards happily married.

In the meantime the younger brother Ram Lal grew up, and followed a totally different path under the care of Baradá Babu, an intelligent and cultivated man. He took kindly to his books, behaved well to his father and other relatives, had a courteous demeanour towards all he met, and was in fact a model of all that a boy should be. But, for some reason or other, Baburám and his friends disapproved of this sort of thing, and determined to get rid of Baradá Babu. The natural way to do this was a criminal charge. So, with the assistance of Miyáján Miya, a serious charge was made against the unoffending Baradá Babu, who would have paid dearly for his folly in neglecting to see the amlah, if he had not known English and so been able to put the facts clearly before the magistrate. For when the magistrate had heard so much of the evidence as he could listen to without neglecting his cigar, his newspaper and his private chits, the sherishtadar strongly urged a conviction, and nothing but his knowledge of English saved Baradá Babu and gained him an acquittal.

About this time Baburám Babu, who is a Kulin of high family, receives an offer of marriage likely to bring some money into his pocket, and at once closes with the proposal. Though Mati Lal's mother, a virtuous and affectionate wife, was still living, Baburám married again, and dying soon afterwards, he left two widows, one of them a mere child. Mati Lal now succeeded to the *gudi*, and celebrated his father's *smriti* in the right fashion. Henceforth, he gave himself up to pleasure, spending money like water on sensual enjoyments of all kinds. His mother remonstrates and receives a blow for her pains, and is obliged to leave the house with her daughter, much to the delight of Mati Lal.

At length, as might have been expected, Mati Lal comes to grief, and is sold up by his creditors. He leaves home, and having arrived in the course of his wanderings at the city of Benares, he falls in with one of the learned pundits of the place, who works his reformation. There, too, he meets his mother and sister and Barada Babu, who make it up with the repentant sinner, return home with him, and live happily ever after.

This is the simple story of *Alâler Gharer Dulâl*, but the mere narrative is the least merit of the book. Its real value lies in the sketches of character and pictures of Bengali life which it contains. Most Europeans know little or nothing of natives beyond what may be learned in our Courts of Justice — places infested by a class of rascals hardly to be found elsewhere, and in which even otherwise honest and truthful men consider themselves entitled to lie, just as they consider themselves entitled to throw aside all regard for caste and for morality in the temple of Vishnu at Puri. A book like this, full of real sketches from life, is, therefore, specially valuable to them. It is true that there may be exaggeration here and there; it is true that, while the knaves are life-like and full of character, the good characters are too much of mere abstractions. The females, too, are very faintly drawn. They are all alike, and they give very little idea of the influence which the wife within the zenana walls exercises in Indian daily life. But still the characters and pictures, such as they are, give the book a real value. We have not space for long quotations, but the following passage will give some notion of the author's vigorous and natural, if sometimes rather rough and homely, style.

'Baburâm Babu is sitting as a Babu should. A servant is rubbing his legs. On one side are seated some pundits jabbering about shastras, maintaining that pumpkins are prohibited on one particular day and brinjals on another, that to take salt with milk is in effect to eat beef, and otherwise raising a clatter like the *dhenki*. In another direction is a party of chess-players: one of them leans his head on his hand and is lost in thought; ruin impends over him, for he is about to be checkmated. On another side some musicians are tuning their instruments. The *tampura* is giving forth its purring sound. Elsewhere accountants are writing up their books. In front stand debtor ryots and creditor shop-keepers whose debts and claims are being enquired into, and admitted or denied. The *baitakhlama* is swarming with people; the mahajuns are crying out that they gave their goods on credit, some two, some four years ago, and that they are sore put to it for want of payment; that they have come time after time for their money without getting it; that their business is all but stopped. Petty traders like the oil-man, fuel-supplier and grocer, are pleading their cause pathetically and humbly. "We are ruined, sir," they say, "we are weak like the *pooti* fish; how can we subsist if you treat us so? The muscles of our legs are worn out with coming to your house for the money. Our shops are closed. Our wives and children are starving." The *dewanji* replies, "Go to-day; of course you will get your money; why do you make such a fuss about it?" If any one speaks boldly after this, Baburâm Babu waxes wrathful, abuses the man and turns him out.'

Besides *Alâler Gharer Dulâl*, Tekchand Thakur has written several minor works. *Râmâ Ranjikâ* chiefly consists of a series

of dialogues between a husband and his wife on various social and moral topics. It is intended for the use of ladies learning to read and write late in life. *Mad khawa bara dáy — jât thákár ki upáy*, is devoted, like many other recent Bengali books, to an exposition of the evils of drunkenness. *Jat Kinchit* is a not very interesting exposition of the Brahmist religion. *Abhedí*—Tekchand Thakur's latest work—treats of the same subject, and has brought down upon him the wrath of the redoubtable Babu Keshub Chunder Sen and his followers.

From 'Tekchand' to 'Hutam' is an easy transition. For Káli Prosunno Singh, or 'Hutam,' was one of the most successful writers in the style first introduced by Tekchand. In early youth he made several translations from the Sanskrit, and in particular he is the author of a translation of the *Mahabharata*, which may be regarded as the greatest literary work of his age. But it is not as a translator that he is known to fame, and familiar to almost every Bengali, but as the author of *Hutam Pyanchá*, a collection of sketches of city-life, something after the manner of Dickens' *Sketches by Boz*, in which the follies and peculiarities of all classes, and not seldom of men actually living, are described in racy vigorous language, not seldom disfigured by obscenity. Among them are the *Charak Pujá*, the *Bárah Yátri*, *Popular Excitements*, *Charlatancy*, *Babu Pudma Lochan Datta* or the *Sudden Incarnation*, and *Snan Jattrá*. The following short extract will give some notion of his style. The scene is laid in the native quarter of Calcutta after nightfall.

'The noise of the bell and the brass-worker has ceased to proclaim that it is still early. The lamps in every street are lighted. Bel flowers and ice-cream and curds are offered for sale by loud-voiced hawkers. The front doors of wine-shops are closed as the law directs, but men who wish to buy are not sent away empty. Gradually the darkness thickens. At this time, thanks to English shoes, striped Santipur scarfs and Simla dhutis, you can't tell high from low. Groups of fast young men, with peals of laughter and plenty of English talk, are knocking at this door and that. They left home when they saw the lamps lighted in the evening, and will return when the flour-mills begin to work. They haunt in crowds the poultry-market in Machua Bazar and the crossing in Chor Bagan Street. Some cover their faces with scarfs, and think that no one recognizes them. Others shout, cough, sneeze, and otherwise display their exuberant spirits. The office clerk has washed his hands and face and taken his brief evening meal, and is now busy with his guitar. In the next room little boys are bawling out their lessons from Vidyaságar's spelling book. Goldsmiths have lighted their small earthen lamps, and are preparing to set about their business. The cloth merchants, braziers, and furniture dealers have shut their shops for the night; and the money changer is counting his cash and estimating his gains.

Fishwomen in the decaying Sobha Bazar market are selling—lamps in hand—their stores of putrid fish and salted *hilsa*, and coaxing purchasers by calling out, "You fellow with the napkin on your shoulder, will you buy some fine fish?" "You fellow with a moustache like a broom, will you pay four annas?" Some one, anxious to display his gallantry, is rewarded by hearing something unpleasant of his ancestors. Smokers of *madat* and *ganjah*, and drunkards who have drunk their last pice, are bawling out, "Generous men, pity a poor blind Brahman," and so procure the wherewithal for a new debauch. * * * * * It is the evening of the *Aila*, and a Saturday, and the city is unusually crowded. Hanging lanterns and wall-lamps shed their light in the betel shops. The air is full of the scent of the flowers hawked about the streets. In some houses over the street, lessons are being given in dancing, and passers-by stand open-mouthed below enjoying the tinkling music. On one side a fight is going on. A constable has caught a thief and is dragging him away with his hands tied; other thieves are laughing and enjoying the fun, and blessing their stars for their own good luck, quite forgetting that their turn will come some other day.

In the morning the scene is changed :—

'Ding-dong, ding-dong, sounds the clock in the Church. It is four in the morning, and night-wandering Babus have turned their faces homewards. Oorya Brahmans are at work on the flour-mills. Street lamps are growing faint. Light breezes are blowing. Quails are singing in the verandas of the night-houses. But for this, or when the crows begin to caw, or a street dog occasionally barks for want of something else to do, the city is still silent. By-and-by you see groups of women going to the river-side to bathe, and discussing among themselves the fact that Ram's mother cannot walk, that the fourth daughter-in-law in another house is a shrew, and that another woman is hideous. Butchers from Chitpore are coming in with loads of mutton. Police surgeons, darogahs and jemadars, and other specimens of the 'terror of the poor,' who have finished their rounds, are walking back to their stations with sounding steps, their girdles and pockets filled with rupces, small silver and pice. They are not too proud to accept a bit of fuel, a chillum of tobacco, or a roll of pán. Some are coming back angry with the city because it has disappointed their hopes, and are busy revolving in their minds the best means of making some rich man feel their dignity and power.

'Loud booms the morning gun. The crows are cawing noisily, and leaving their nightly shelter. Shop-keepers open their shutters, bow before Gandheswari, sprinkle Ganges water on the floor, change the water in their hookas and begin to smoke. Gradually day dawns. Fishermen are hurrying along with baskets of fish. Fisherwomen are quarrelling and running after them. Baskets of potatoes and brinjals from Baldyabati are coming in. The messengers of death, foreign and native, are starting in their round of visits in *gari* or *palki*,

according to their condition, without a smile in their faces unless fever or cholera is rife. * * * *

'Pundits from the *toles* and *pujaris* are going to bathe in the river with a change of clothes in bundles under their arms. They are in a hurry to-day because they must be with their *jajmans* early. Rheumatic middle-aged gentlemen are out in their morning walks. Oorya bearers, with tooth-stick in hand, are off like the rest to the water-side. The *Englishman*, the *Hurkaru* and the *Phoenix*, are being distributed to their subscribers. Native papers are like venison; they are kept for a day to get a flavour. It is different with English papers; they must be distributed before the sun is up.' •

So much for Hutam.

One of the best masters of a pure and vigorous Bengali style—neither characterized by the somewhat pedantic purity of Vidya-sâgar, nor rough and homely like Tekchand and Hutam—one of the best masters, we say, of Bengali style is Babu Bhudeb Mukerjî. He has, unfortunately, written little, except works of a technical character, but his little volume of historical tales, from which we have not space to quote, is enough to show that he might have done a great deal more than he actually has done.

The next author to be considered is Mr. Michael Madhusadhun Datta, a most prolific writer of poems and plays. There is probably no writer whose merits are more variously estimated—some enthusiasts thinking him fit to compare with Kalidâsa, while others regard him as a mere poetaster. For ourselves we agree with neither, and while admitting his considerable merits, we are not prepared to rank him among great poets. He has incurred much hostile criticism by his innovations in language, and by his introduction into Bengali of the use of blank verse, but his rightful place in Bengali literature is perhaps the highest.

His poetical works are the *Meghnada Badh*, the *Telottama Sambhava*, the *Birangana* and the *Brajangana*. The two former are what in Europe would be called epic poems, and in India *mahakavyas*. Both are written in blank verse—the first instances of the kind in Bengali. Of the two, the *Telottama* was the earliest, but the *Meghnada Badh* is Mr. Datta's greatest work. The subject is taken from the *Ramayana*, the source of inspiration to so many Indian poets. In the war with Ravana, Meghnada, the most heroic of Ravana's sons and warriors, is slain by Lakshman, Rama's brother. This is the subject; and Mr. Datta owes a great deal more to Valmiki than the mere story. But, nevertheless, the poem is his own work from beginning to end. The scenes, characters, machinery and episodes, are in many respects of Mr. Datta's own creation. In their conception and development, Mr. Datta has displayed a high order of art, and to do justice to it, or even to give a suitable idea of it, would

require a much more minute examination of the poem than the space at our command will allow. To Homer and Milton, as well as to Válmiki, he is largely indebted in many ways, but he has assimilated and made his own most of the ideas which he has taken, and this poem is on the whole the most valuable work in modern Bengali literature. The characters are clearly conceived and capable of winning the reader's sympathy. The machinery, including a great deal that is supernatural, is skilfully and easily handled. The imagery is graceful and tender and terrible in turn. The play of fancy gives constant variety. The diction is richly poetic, and the words so happily chosen as constantly to bring up by association ideas congruous to those which they directly express. Nor is the verse broken up into couplets complete in themselves, in the Sanskrit fashion, but, abounding like Milton's in variety of pause, it seems to us musical and graceful, as well as a fitting vehicle for passionate feelings.

Mr. Datta, however, is not faultless. He wants repose. The winds rage their loudest when there is no necessity for the lightest puff. Clouds gather and pour down a deluge, when they need do nothing of the kind ; and the sea grows terrible in its wrath, when everybody feels inclined to resent its interference. All this bombast is unworthy of Mr. Datta's genius and cultivated taste. Equally so is his constant repetition of the same images and phrases till they almost nauseate his readers. Nor is he altogether innocent of plagiarism. Homer and Válmiki are not unfrequently put under contribution, and Milton and Kalidasa have equal reason to complain.

Then again grammar might have been respected ; and we must strongly protest against the constant introduction in imitation of the English idiom of such verbs as *stutita*, *swanila*, *nirghosila*.

We have given no extracts from the *Meghnáda Badh*, because we could give no adequate idea of its merits by isolated quotations. The poem is beautiful as a whole, but single passages would give no more idea of it than a brick could give of the building from which it was taken.

Of Mr. Datta's other works, the *Tilottamí Sambhava* was the earliest. It is an epic like the *Meghnada Badh*, but far inferior to that poem. The subject is the birth of Tilottama, the fairest of Brahma's creation, created for the express purpose of causing discord between the powerful Titan brothers, Sunda and Upasunda, who had expelled the Aryan gods from heaven.

We gladly turn from the *Tilottamí* to a less ambitious but more mature work, the *Birangana*. It is a series of poetical epistles from heroes' wives to their husbands. It followed the *Meghnada Badh*, and there is the same gorgeous imagery, the

same rich poetic diction, and the same musical variously modulated versification.

The *Brajaṅgaṇā* is a short and fragmentary poem in rhyme. It sings the woes of Radha during the days of her bereavement—a subject so often treated before, that novelty might seem to be impossible. Mr. Datta, however, has contrived to say much that is both new and beautiful, and he is just as successful in rhyme as in blank verse. In fact, his rhyme is the best in the language. Of his sonnets we are no great admirers, though they might serve to win a name for a less distinguished author. They were composed in Europe. One of them is dated from Versailles, and others are addressed to Dante, Professor Goldstücker, Tennyson, Victor Hugo and Italy,—a sufficiently miscellaneous list of subjects, it must be confessed.

As a dramatist, Mr. Datta is not generally successful. Among his plays are *Sammisthā*, *Padmāvatī*, and *Krishna Kumari*; and the first mentioned in particular is very generally admired. In our judgment none of them are of much value. No Bengali writer has yet shown any real dramatic power. Even Babu Dinabandhu Mitra, the best writer in this line, entirely fails when he attempts to portray any of the higher emotions, and as for Mr. Datta, his undoubted poetic genius seems entirely to desert him as soon as he sets about writing a play. His farces, however, are good. One of them, entitled *Is this Civilization?* is the best in the language. This little work deserves notice independently of its own really great merit.

The Bengali press at the present day is very prolific, but by far the largest part of the books published are mere servile imitations of some successful author. There are imitators of Vidyasāgar, imitators of Tekchand Thakur, of Hutani, of Babu Dinabandhu Mitra and of the author of *Durgesandini*; but, perhaps, no work has formed the model for so many imitators as *Is this Civilization?* It is a farce with a purpose, being intended chiefly to ridicule and so expose the vice of drunkenness and the other evils by which it is generally attended. The Burtolla Presses and shops actually overflow with little books, containing a dozen or twenty pages each, and selling for an anna or two, all directed against the vice of drunkenness. There are farces, too, of larger bulk, one of which, called *Bujhile-ki-nā*, or *Do you understand?* is very popular, and often produced at private theatricals; and these, too, like the others, are mere copies of *Is this Civilization?* This little work, therefore, independently of its being in itself one of the two best farces in the language, gains additional importance from the large number of other books written after its model.

To give any adequate idea of this clever little work by translated extracts would be entirely impossible, because half the fun

lies in the absurd jargon interlarded with English words and the cant of debating clubs in which the characters speak. The scene is laid in the "Gyan Tarangini Sabha"—a sort of scientific debating society which chiefly devotes itself to nautch girls and tippling. The types of life and character which it represents are sufficiently disgusting, and the important question is, whether the representation is correct.

To the shame of Bengal we must say that we fear the picture is a true one. The reformer who never gets beyond tipsy harangues full of English expressions, should not be confounded as he often is by Europeans with the really cultivated class. But it cannot be denied that he is a fair representative of that great horde of partly educated Babus, whose only claim to enlightenment lies in the fact that they drink, wear shabby trousers and stammer out barbarous English. These are the men who swarm in every office, and plague officials with endless applications for employment, crowd the thoroughfares of the native town in the evening, drain the liquor shops, and form the majority of his audience when Babu Keshub Chunder Sen lectures at the Town Hall. Of education, they have had nothing worth the name. Having spent a few years very unprofitably in learning a smattering of English at some Anglo-vernacular school, they started in life—if poor, at the age of eighteen, as *umelwars*. If rich, they devoted themselves from the same age with their whole strength to swinish pleasures. The country is overrun with men of this sort, and Mr. Datta's picture is true to the life; but they must not be confounded with the really cultivated class, who, in spite of all that has been said regarding the spread of English education, are comparatively few in number.

The next author whom we must mention is Babu Dinobandhu Mitra, the best Bengali dramatist, indeed the only good dramatic author. He has written altogether five plays, of which two are farces. His earliest production, the *Nil Darpan*, is better known by name to the European public than almost any other Bengali book. Its connection with the indigo riots gave it a notoriety which it certainly would not otherwise have attained. When public feeling was excited on the subject, just after that conviction of Mr. Long, which fitly preceded the extinction of a Court which had thus proved itself unable to rise above the waves of passion and prejudice; at that time *Nil Darpan* was usually spoken of as a filthy and scurrilous production, entirely devoid of literary merit. In this judgment we do not altogether coincide; but at the same time we should give it a very low place as a work of art. The importance was political, not literary; and as literature rather than politics is our present theme, we shall not discuss it at greater length.

Of Babu Dinobandhu Mitra's other plays, *Lilabati* is the most popular; but for our own part, though willingly conceding much

that may be said in its favour, we give the preference to another play, *Nabin Tapaswini*. If it has greater faults than the other, they are redeemed by greater merits. The idea of the play is taken from Shakespeare's *Merry Wives of Windsor*, and the plot is that of a well-known Hindu nursery tale, embellished with the love adventures of a sort of Indian Falstaff. The Falstaff of the story is Jaladthur, a prime-minister, whose weight and circumference have marked an embarrassing figure, though he still retains the amorous propensities of youth. The object of his affections is Málati, the young and beautiful wife of a merchant named Kalikanta. Malati, has a cousin, Mallika, the purest of women at heart, though endowed with a sharp tongue, the rough edge of which she is not chary of using. Having learnt of Jaladthur's passion for Malati and the solicitations which he addressed to her, she put her cousin up to giving him a series of practical lessons, which form the matter of the play. First of all, Jaladthur is induced to meet his own wife under the idea that she is Malati, and his protestations of love mixed with abuse of his wife are cut short and himself put to flight by the entrance in the scene of Kalikanta, to whose wrath the spurious Mallika would have fallen a victim, if she had not saved herself by telling out to him who she was. This, however, did not occur till Jaladthur had felt the weight of his jealous wife's broom.

The next scene is in the merchant's house, where he has been led to expect that his wishes will at length be gratified. Before venturing on this, Jaladthur has induced his royal master, whose health was failing, to send Kalikanta to Arabia in search of that sovereign remedy—the flesh of the Hondol kutkutia, a fabulous animal which had no existence out of the minister's brain. By Mallika's advice, the trader, instead of starting for Arabia, conceals himself near home, and returns by agreement to the house where Jaladthur is in company with the two ladies. The gay Lothario, thus surprised, hides himself, first, for want of better shelter, with a grotesque mask to hide his head, in a cask of tar, and afterwards in a heap of cotton-wool, with results which may be imagined. At last he is advised to fly, and Mallika lets him out of a back door, immediately in front of which is a great iron cage prepared for the Arabian beast. He runs into this cage in the dark, and Mallika shuts the door. In the morning he is carried off to Court, and the people on the way crowd round the strange beast, pelt him with brick-bats and poke him with sticks, while he is so much afraid of being recognized that he squeaks and capers about, as the wild beast for which he is taken might be supposed to do. At last they meet the king, and after a time Kalikanta turns up, and the facts are in due course disclosed.

This is the comic vein of the piece, but there is also a serious plot, and the two hang together somewhat loosely. The serious-

plot relates to the King and his Queen, whom he had put away years before, when she was great with child, and whom many supposed to have been murdered and all believed to be dead. He is now strongly urged to a second marriage in the interests of his kingdom, but his heart yearns for his lost Queen, whom he at length discovers in a beggar woman, with their son, now a fine young man, disguised as a hermit. The hermit loves the fair one destined for the king's second wife, and ends by marrying her.

This serious plot is poor enough, but the other story is worked out in an irresistibly comic manner. The character of Jaladthur, too, though doubtless taken in great part from Shakspeare's Falstaff is life-like and consistent, and Mallika, with her love of mischief and fun and inexhaustible fertility of resource, is Babu Dinabandhu Mitra's best female character. Jaladthur's ugly and jealous wife, too, is excellently drawn, and tickles the reader's fancy with her firm persuasion that her corpulent old husband is sighed after and inveigled by all the young women about the place.

Lilabati is a more ambitious work. Its plot is romantic and complicated, and in working it out, the melodramatic element is largely introduced. We have not space to discuss it at length, and must, therefore, content ourselves with expressing the opinion that, as in *Nabin Tapaswini* Babu Dinabandhu Mitra has proved himself the greatest humourist, so in *Lilabati* he appears as the wittiest writer in the Bengali language. Neither Tekchand nor Hutam come near him in this respect. *Lilabati* is now its author's most widely read work, since *Nil Darpan* has lost its factitious popularity but in our opinion it is rather in broad comedy and farce that its author excels than in so serious a drama.

It remains to notice Babu Dinabandhu Mitra's two farces. In the "*Old Man Mad for Marriage*," a not unfrequent kind of folly is cleverly satirized. An old man, named Rajib Mukerji, is very anxious to be married, and people are wont to irritate him by proposing as a match an ugly black-faced Dom woman, known as "Panchua's mother." Some school-boys determine to play him a trick. A sham Ghatak, or match-maker, is sent to him. The preliminary arrangements are completed, and Rajib is to be married. One of the most mischievous among the boys is dressed up as a girl to personate the bride, and some of the neighbours represent her male and female friends. The mock ceremony is gone through, and Rajib passes the night in jollification with the boys. His horrors may be imagined on awaking in the morning and finding that the bride by his side is "Panchua's mother," who offers a young sucking pig to his caresses as their adopted child.

The other farce, *Sadhabár Ekādasi*, is more cleverly written, but unfortunately it is so disfigured by obscurity that we can

neither quote nor analyze it. A great deal of its author's charm, too, lies in his wit, and this it is utterly impossible for us to reproduce in English, depending as it does on similarities between the sounds of Bengali words and ideas which are almost incomprehensible to a foreigner.

There are several other writers still remaining to be noticed, but the limited space at our disposal compels us to bring the present paper to a close. Babu Ranga Lal Banerji is a poet with a high reputation among his countrymen, but we must say that he has done very little to deserve it. His three poems are—*Padmini*, *Karmadebi* and *Surasundari*, all three being versified stories of Rajput women, taken from Tod's *Rajasthan*. *Padmini* is perhaps the best. This writer belongs to the school of Bhârat Chandra, though, unlike the old author, he is free from obscenity. Indeed, such merits as he has are chiefly of a negative character.

Babu Hem Chunder Banerji, though less known to fame, is a far better poet. His *Indra's Nectar Feast* is a spirited imitation of Dryden's *Alexander's Feast*.

Among the romance writers, Babu Protap Chandra Ghose, author of '*Bangdâhîp Purâjay*,' has recently been noticed at length in this review. The only other writer of this class whose works it seems necessary to notice, is Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterji, whose *Durgesundini*, *Kapâl Kundalâ* and *Mritanini* are among the most popular of Bengali books. Perhaps we cannot do better than give a brief sketch of the story of *Kapâl Kundalâ* which, if not the best, is the shortest and most easily reproduced of the three. The story then runs thus :—

A young Brahman named Naba Kumar, on his return from Ganga Sâgar, was left by his companions on a deserted part of the coast of Hidgelee. The only inhabitant of the place was a 'Kâpâlîka,' or member of one of those strange sects which practised the wild and terrible Tantric forms of worship — whose temple is the burning ghat, and for whom no rite is too bloody and disgusting. From him the young man obtained food and shelter. Having provided for his necessities, his unattractive host, with his drinking cup of human skull, went on a journey with a promise to return again. But day after day passed and no Kâpâlîka appeared, till at length Naba Kumâr, weary of waiting, determined to find his own way, if possible, through the pathless wilderness of jungle in which the hermit's cave stood, to some region inhabited by men. But in the attempt he utterly lost his way, and the following scene then occurs, which we quote because it is a favourite with native readers :—

'He now perceived that he could not even find his way back. The deep roar of the water boomed in his ear and he recognized the voice of the ocean. Suddenly emerging from the thicket, he saw the sea spread before him. The infinite expanse of the dark waters filled him

with a sublime joy. He sat down on the sandy beach. The dark foamy endless waters! Far as the eye could reach on either side, long white lines of foam flashed on the crest of the waves as they broke on the flat line of the beach, and shone against the golden sand like a garland of snow-white flowers. But over the expanse of ocean, too, a thousand waves were dancing and breaking into foam. If the wind could reach the stars and set them in motion across the background of the sky, this alone could fitly image the sight of the white foam-spots on the dark waters of the sea. The sun was about to set, and where the line of soft light fell, the water was transformed to molten gold. And in the distance some European ships could be descried, skimming the ocean like gigantic birds with great white spreading wings.

How long Naba Kumár continued to gaze at the ocean, he could not tell. Suddenly the darkness of night came down on the bosom of the deep, and he then remembered that his way back must be found.

* * *

Turning his back to the sea, he saw a magnificent vision. There stood on the sandy beach of the deep-sounding sea, dimly seen in the twilight, the figure of a woman such as he had never seen before. Her cloudlike tresses confined by no hand, flowed down below her knee in long serpentine curls. * * Her face was partly hidden, but it shone like the moon through a break in the clouds. There was a mild and subdued light in her large eyes. Her expression was grave; but her face beamed on him like the moon now newly risen over the surface of the deep.'

The young woman thus described in language rather more lofty than distinct, turns out to be a Kapál Kundala, a girl who had been saved from the wreck of one of those Portuguese pirate ships, which in old times ravaged the whole coast of Bengal in search of slaves, and who had been brought up by the Kápalika hermit in his solitary dwelling for ultimate purposes of which she knew nothing. She had imbibed from him a deep veneration for his goddess Káli, but her soul revolted from the human sacrifices which the Kápalika offered to Kali whenever occasion offered. The two returned to the hermit's cell, and it soon appeared that Naba Kumár was intended for sacrifice. His host, who was a man of vast strength, had tied him to the stake and would have at once carried out his purpose, but Kapál Kundala concealed the sacrificial knife, and when the Kápalika went to look for it, she cut the prisoner's bonds and the two took at once to flight. After a time they reached a solitary shrine, and induced the pújari to marry them, Naba Kumár, it is needless to say, being deeply enamoured of his companion, and she having no objection to marriage because she had no idea what it meant. The pújari showed them, too, the way to Midnapore, from whence Naba Kumár's residence at Saptagrám was easily reached.

This was not Naba Kumár's first marriage. He had been married once before, but while his wife was a mere child; and she having

been converted with her father to the Muhammadan faith, they had left the country together, so that husband and wife had never met after the day of their marriage. A strange adventure now befel on the way back to Saptagram. Naba Kumar, having done some trifling service to a Musalman lady of great wealth and apparently high rank, she asked his name and residence, and learned that he was her husband. For the lady was his wife, now Lutf-un-nissa, the favourite courtesan whose lisp and beauty had won her power and wealth among the courtiers at Agra, where her father had risen to eminence through the favour of Akbar. As a mark of gratitude for the service rendered to her, she presented Kapál Kundala with a magnificent set of jewels, which the ignorant girl gave away in complete ignorance of their use and value to the first beggar on the road. Lutf-un-nissa was on her way back from Orissa, whither she had gone in furtherance of an intrigue to divert the succession from Prince Selim. A strange Nemesis had now overtaken her. She who boasted that she carried a heart of stone which neither prince nor courtiers could touch—she was now conquered by the poor wandering but handsome Brahman who had once been her husband. Arrived in Agra, she found Selim seated on the throne, and obtained his permission to return to Bengal. She came to Saptagram, took a house, and spread her net for the affection of Naba Kumar. Finding, however, an insurmountable obstacle in his constant love for Kapál Kundala, she determined on a bold scheme for undermining it.

Kapál Kundala had now been more than a year in Naba Kumar's house. Her name, owing to its Tantric import, was changed to Mrinmayi. She herself had been to a certain extent reclaimed from the character of a child of the wilderness, but she regretted the change. Naba Kumar loved her ardently, but she did not return his feeling. Her heart was pre-occupied by the great goddess Kali, to whose service she was fanatically devoted. She would have died for Naba Kumar, if necessary, but she did not love him, and she could not bear the restraints of the zenana. Setting his authority at naught, she one night stole out into the jungle to gather herbs for a female friend, who wanted them for a philter. Approaching an old ruin, she overheard some conversation which seemed to concern herself. She was detected listening by one of the talkers who appeared to be a Brahman youth. She was seized with fear and fled. She saw she was being followed, and before she reached home and closed the door behind her, she recognized the well-known stalwart form of the Kapálíka.

The Kapálíka, when his victims had escaped, had given chase, but had fallen and broken his arm. While he lay helpless in bed, Bhawáni had appeared to him in a dream and demanded Kapál

Kundala as a sacrifice. When the use of his limbs had been recovered, he spent nights and days in searching for her, and at length he had succeeded. But he needed assistance in bringing her to the sacrificial altar, and while watching his opportunity, he met Lutf-un-nissa disguised for purposes of her own as a Brahman youth, and it was these two whom Kapál Kundala had disturbed in their consultations. The two did not agree. Lutf-un-nissa's object was to separate Kapál Kundala from her husband, but she would not consent to violence of any kind. Finding the Kápálíka resolved in his purpose, Lutf-un-nissa determined to save Kapál Kundala by telling her the facts, and then to work on her feelings of gratitude. Accordingly, next day, Kapál Kundala found on her path a note from the disguised Brahman inviting a second meeting in the wood, and promising important disclosures. No other Hindu wife would have kept the appointment, but she did, and not unnoticed.

Kapál Kundala, when going out the night before, had been seen by Naba Kumar, who, though not yet jealous, might readily have been made so. He watched the second night, and found her going out again; and to add to his torments, Lutf-un-nissa's note had dropped unperceived on the floor. He picked it up and read it, and determined to follow. But almost before he had got outside the house, the Kápálíka stood before him. Disappointed in Lutf-un-nissa, the terrible devotee now sought to secure the assistance of Naba Kumar himself by working on his jealousy. He told Naba Kumar of his own fall and loss of strength, and of Bhawani's command, and called on him to assist in the sacrifice of his wife, whom at the same time he denounced as a fallen traitress. If he wanted proof, he bade him follow; and the two plunged together into the thicket.

Kápál Kundala had met Lutf-un-nissa in the wood, and the latter, after telling her the Kápálíka's story and letting her fully understand his terrible purpose, disclosed also her own identity and history, and the object she had in view. She promised Kapál Kundala riches and comfort in some foreign land, if only she would leave her husband without warning. To this she might have consented, having no real love for her husband, but when once she had heard the will of Bhawani, nothing remained for her but to fulfil it. She left the place, and at a little distance fell in with the Kápálíka and Naba Kumar. For they had been watched throughout. Naba Kumar was fearfully excited by drink administered to him by the Kápálíka, and was ready to carry out the hermit's purpose. They all went together to the place of sacrifice—the burning ghat, which is minutely described in all its horrid details, with its crowd of vultures, half-burnt human bodies, and heaps of skulls and bones in all directions. Then they prepared to worship according to the rites of the Tantrikas. Naba Kumar took Kapál

Kundala to the water-side to bathe her before she should be sacrificed. There an explanation was given. He begged her to come again. She declared her intention of fulfilling Bhawani's will, and while the debate between them was going on, just as he stretched out his hand to seize her and force her to return, the bank beneath her feet gave way, and she fell into the deep stream below. He leaped after her. Both for a time disappeared. The Kápálīka length dragged Naba Kumar to land, but Kapál Kundala was seen or heard of no more. And so the story ends, much to the disappointment of most Bengali readers, who much prefer the orthodox ending, where all live happily ever after.

Mrinalini is a book of a very different stamp, and many consider it Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterji's most successful production.

But here must end our brief and imperfect sketch of Bengal literature—a literature which, with much that is feeble and base and utterly worthless, yet has within it what may encourage no small degree of hope for the future. Its character is for the most part imitative, but what literature, save that of Greece, has ever been independent and original in its youth? Once and again has a voice from that holy land of beauty and truth awakened the torpid heart and mind of Western Europe. Horace himself, the most spontaneous and genuine of all the Latin poets, entertained no higher idea of originality than to make it consist in the importation of a new form of poetry from Greece. An imitator in those days meant an imitator of Latin authors—the imitation of Greek being almost implied in the excellence of any work. And when Europe woke again from the long sleep which followed on the dissolution of the Roman Empire, it was on the translation and imitation of Greek and Latin authors that its energies were employed. Is there no imitation in Dante himself? It may seem improbable that European ideas will ever really be assimilated by the people of India—that all we can effect here is a superficial varnish of sham intelligence. But everything cannot come in a day, and there was a time when it would have seemed almost equally improbable that the little remnant of intelligence preserved in the Latin Church, and the study of classical antiquity, would have grown into what we now see among the Celtic and Teutonic peoples of the West. The Bengalis may not seem to have the fibre for doing much in the way of real thought any more than of vigorous action; but it was chiefly among the supple and pliant Italians that the revival of learning in Europe began; and it is possible to imagine that the Bengalis—the Italians of Asia, as the *Spectator* has called them—are now doing a great work, by, so to speak, acclimatising European ideas and fitting them for reception hereafter by the hardier and more original races of Northern India.

ART. VIII.—A CHAPTER FROM MUHAMMADAN HISTORY.

THE HINDU RAJAS UNDER THE MUGHAL GOVERNMENT.

THE early Muhammanadan Historians of India, invaluable as their works are in other respects, give but scanty information on a subject which prominently occupies the attention of modern writers—the condition and progress of the people. Most of them look upon history as a bare record of dynastic changes and palace-events, and as almost every historian makes it his particular object to produce a compendium that should render preceding works superfluous, we often find that voluminous native histories contain but little of what is really new. In some cases, again, the works were written for the purpose of exhibiting an ornate style and lexicographical research, and the authors were naturally disposed to leave out what at their age might have appeared trivial, but what at the present time would be of no little interest. Compared with the mediæval writers of Europe, the Muhammadan historians of India occupy, in point of interest, an inferior position. The one had to deal with the chronicles of huge empires and numerous races; the other described the fortunes of small territories and insignificant peoples. The time of Indian historians is, therefore, fully occupied with recording changes in the *personnel* of the government, and rarely do they find leisure to satisfy our curiosity by entering upon what is local or civil. Their histories are more or less complete chronological tables. There is little of judging of motives, no leading ideas, no great object in view; the individual opinions of the writer scarcely ever come to the surface. Of the minute information which we glean from the light and charming historical sketches in even the earliest works of our French neighbours, there is no trace. We feel, indeed, that, besides kings and grandees, there exists a people; but its distance from our stand-point is so great, that, like the fixed stars, it seems to exhibit no sign of progress.

How bare the records are which we now possess, may be seen from several facts. Though there is no period for which we are entirely destitute of historical sources, we are still in doubt regarding the exact extent of the Delhi empire at different times; and the fixing of the frontiers of smaller kingdoms, such as Jaunpur, Málwah, Gujrát, and those of the Dakhin, has not yet been attempted by historians. A collection of maps, showing the size of the empire and the several minor kingdoms at various periods,

is a great desideratum, but the geographical details would necessitate a good deal of patient research. Of the duties and even the titles of the officers of the emperors and kings, we have not always distinct notions, and we know next to nothing of the armies, at least of those of the earlier kings. Matters belonging to the government of towns—a subject regarding which the European historians of the middle ages have so much to say—or to domestic life and manners, are scarcely ever mentioned. Unfortunately, the Muhammadans are no sculptors; with them, as with the Jews of old, the making of likenesses is an abomination. Muhammadan literature, besides, knows nothing of the drama, and thus we are deprived of the mines which have yielded such rich contributions to our knowledge of classical antiquity. A hand-book of antiquities, such as we are accustomed to lay before our students in schools and colleges at home, could not possibly be compiled, at least to the same extent, for Muhammadan India. Our remote knowledge of ancient Egyptian life shows the value of art as a source of history. The absence of historical work in Hindu literature has often been the subject of remark; but as sculpture and the drama exist, the Sanskrit antiquarian has means of entering into the daily life and occupations of generations long past, which the Muhammadan philologist never has, though his enquiries embrace a period much nearer to our own age. The latter feels the absence of art, as much as the former does the want of authenticated history.

The great defect, then, of our early Indian historians lies in their silence on subjects connected with the condition of the people, and chiefly the Hindus, during the first centuries of the Muhammadan period. With the fall of Delhi, the Gangetic provinces lay at the feet of the Muhammadan invader. The strength of the Rajputs had kept for two centuries the rising enthusiasm of Islam within the boundaries of the Panjab. Though ultimately defeated, the Hindus were far from being totally crushed, and substituting passive resistance for open force, they taught their opponents for the first time in history to temper fury with moderation. In Persia the Quran 'extinguished the flame of the fire-temples'; but India never became a thorough Muhammadan country. The invaders were few, and the country was too large and too populous. The waves of immigration from Túrán were few and far between, and deposited on Indian soil adventurers, warriors, and learned men, rather than artizans and colonists. Hence the Muhammadans depended on the Hindus for labour of every kind, from architecture down to agriculture and the supply of servants. Many branches they had to learn from the Hindus, as, for example, the cultivation of indigenous produce, irrigation, coinage, medicine, the building of houses and weaving

of stuffs suitable to the climate, the management of elephants, and so forth. The collection of the revenue even had to be carried on by the conquered race, and the estates taken possession of by Muhammadans had to be managed by Hindu vakils. In course of time the rulers had to depend on the Hindus for recruiting their armies. The 375,000 troopers of Alá-ud-dín could never have been exclusively levied from Muhammadans. The conversions, though numerous, were much less thorough than those which the Muhammadans had effected in Syria and Persia; and so late as the reigns of Jahángír and Sháhjahán we hear of Muhammadan districts, the inhabitants of which at the time of Fírúz Sháh had been converted, and whose descendants, nevertheless, continued to observe Hindu rites, Suttee included. The *jazyah*, or poll-tax on infidels, was never collected for any number of years in succession, or over any large extent of territory. Nearly every powerful king had to renew by an edict the practice of collecting the hateful tax, which so much pleased the vanity of the Moslems. The wealth of the Hindus, indeed, prompted their rulers cruelly to oppress them, and to plunder them on suitable occasions without mercy or remorse; but the dire consequence of the systematic robberies and insults inflicted by Alá-ud-dín and Muhammad Tughluq were effectual warnings for subsequent emperors.

But though the Hindus could not be dispensed with, they were as conquered subjects little thought of, and on the score of religion actually despised. They could not, therefore, attain to political eminence. Before the reign of Akbar, Hindus were not appointed to posts of any responsibility. Even the number of converts that rose to dignity, was small. In the minor States which seceded on the first breaking up of the Delhi Empire with the decline of the house of the Tughluqs, we hear occasionally, as in Málwah and Jaunpúr, of Rajas rising to importance and filling high offices, but these are isolated examples. In Bengal the line of Muhammadan kings was for a time interrupted, and the *ráj* returned to the Hindus, but the successor of the first Raja of Bengal became a convert to Islam. The first example of a Hindu being appointed to command the armies of Delhi, is Hemu.

It was, no doubt, chiefly for religious reasons that the Hindus were not admitted to the higher offices of the government. The antipathy arising from difference of colour did not exist. But it would be wrong to ascribe the ineligibility of the Hindus entirely to religious differences. There was another difference which rendered them unfit for holding high posts. Both Hindus and Muhammadans spoke the same vernacular, *viz.*, Hindi, or as it was then called, Hindawí. If we may trust the statement of Khusráu, the greatest Persian poet that Hindustan has produced, the

Muhammadans were even proud of that vernacular.* But the great obstacle lay in the fact that a knowledge of Persian, the polite language of the Court, was absolutely necessary for the discharge of political duties, and inasmuch as the Hindus did not learn it, they furnished their rulers with an additional reason for withholding from them office and emoluments.

It is interesting to trace from a few facts, incidentally mentioned by historians, the manner in which the subject race came to recognize and remove the cause of their disqualification. That the conquest should have produced in the Hindus intense hatred and a resolve not to mix with the foreigners, but to watch more zealously than before over that which was national, may be assumed as self-evident. To learn the language of the rulers must have been looked upon as pollution, or equivalent to loss of caste and religion; and when the Muhammadans became Indian in language, the Hindus may then have looked upon the study of Arabic and Persian as useless. Besides, a purely Hindu education had in the eyes of the rulers a certain market value. As stated above, the collection of the revenue and the management of estates were almost exclusively in the hands of the Hindus, and hence all accounts, whether private or public, were kept in Hindi, unlike the official correspondence of the Court which was carried on in Persian. The fact that the whole revenue department, from the very beginning of the Muhammadan rule, was monopolized by Hindus, though it is not especially mentioned by historians, is yet well authenticated. The several *dastūr-ul-amals*, or 'Guides' for settlement officers, which we possess from the Mughal times (we are not aware of the existence of any such works written prior to the reign of Akbar), give due prominence to this curious fact. They are unanimous in affirming that, from the earliest times up to the middle of Akbar's reign, all Government accounts were kept in Hindi, or, generally speaking, in the local vernaculars. Next to religious antipathy, the prospect of obtaining employment in the revenue department, without making any further exertions, prevented the Hindus from devoting themselves to the study of Persian and Arabic. But, after the lapse of more than two centuries from the fall of Delhi, a change took place; the Hindus no longer objected to Muhammadan education, and commenced the study of Persian. Native historians say nothing regarding the precise time that this intellectual revolution began. Like every great change, it must have been gradual, and, therefore, at the time imperceptible. But one fact

* Vide Prof. Dowson, *Elliot's History*, vol. iii, p. 556. Muhammadans early composed poems in Hindawi. About 1370, Maulānā

Dáúd wrote a poem, the title of which was *Chanddāban*, in honour of Jonā Shah Khān Jahān. *Badāonī*, i. 250.

is certain. About 1500 A.D., during the reign of Sultan Sikandar, son of Bahlul Lodi, we hear, for the first time, of works composed by Hindus in the Persian language. In the histories of Persian literature mention is especially made of a Hindu who wrote under the assumed name of *Barhaman* (Brahman), evidently with reference to his caste. A few of his verses have been preserved, and historians also state* that, though an infidel, he delivered lectures on Muhammadan sciences, and taught the text-books usually read in Madrasahs. Persian education seems to have rapidly spread in the 16th century, even among the higher classes of Hindus. In the beginning of Akbar's reign we find a Persian poet among the Rájas of Sámbar. Manohar, son of Rája Loukaran, is mentioned in the works on Persian literature as a clever writer, and the poems of his which we possess show a surprising acquaintance with Persian thought. He wrote under the name of *Tosan*, which we might perhaps translate by 'Pegasus';† and from his knowledge of Muhammadan literature went at Court under the name of Muhammad Manohar, or Mírzá Manohar, though he was no convert. Badáoní facetiously says of him that, born as he was in the salt region of the Sambhar lake, his works partook of the *sal et lepos* of his native soil.

These examples might, however, be looked upon as isolated instances. But there is another fact which clearly proves the spread of Persian education among Hindus in the 16th century. When Todar Mall was appointed minister of finance, he gave an order that all revenue accounts should henceforth be kept in Persian. This change is also recorded in every *dashtár-ul-amal*; and the mere fact that the order was given and immediately carried out, shows that the change was not productive of any serious inconvenience to the Hindu revenue officers. Coming from a staunch Hindu like Todar Mall (Akbar and Abulfazl thought him offensively bigoted), the order takes us at first by surprise. But though Todar Mall could not perhaps foresee to what results his order would lead, there is no doubt that he had the welfare of his co-religionists at heart. He knew that, notwithstanding the generous policy inaugurated by his imperial master of opening to Hindus the highest posts of the government, his countrymen would not be able successfully to compete with Muhammadans, unless they received the same intellectual training. His order forced the Hindus, if they wished to continue to monopolize, as they had hitherto done, the revenue department, to study Persian and acquire conversational powers in the language of the Court, just as the introduction of English into our

* Badáoní, i., p. 313.

† *Tosan*, Persian, a fiery horse.

courts and offices produced, irrespective of the intrinsic value of Western thought, a marked zeal for English education.

The Muhammadans were not slow to apprehend the danger which threatened the privilege which they had so long enjoyed of being in exclusive possession of the highest offices; and after the selection of Todar Mall for the post of Vakíl, or Díván, of the empire, they sent a deputation to Akbar to remonstrate with him, and get a Muhammadan appointed in his place. Akbar, characteristically enough, asked the deputies who managed their zemindaris while they were on duty at Court. "Our Hindu Vakíls," they said. "Very well," replied the emperor, "allow me to appoint a Hindu to manage my lands." Similarly, when Mán Singh was nominated to take the command of the expedition against Ráná Partáb, or Ráná Kíká as he is generally called in histories—the first instance, after Hemu, of a Hindu leading the armies of Delhi—the Muhammadan courtiers expressed their dissatisfaction, and some refused to go because a Hindu was in command.

The Hindus from the 16th century took so zealously to Persian education that, before another century had elapsed, they had fully come up to the Muhammadans in point of literary acquirements. The official correspondence of the Government, the *daftar* and the *Munshi-khánah* were soon in the hands of the Hindus, and a Muhammadan historian* even confesses that on the death of Sa'd-ullah, the distinguished vizier of Shahjahan, his duties were discharged by Rái Ragunath and Chander Bhán, because they stood unrivalled in their skill of letter-writing and power of composition. One-half of the Persian literature of the 18th century is due to Hindus. Their *díváns* (poetry) are as numerous as their *inshás* (model letters); their Persian grammars and commentaries are most excellent, and they have composed the most exhaustive dictionaries and the best critical works on the Persian language.

The influence of Persian education on the Hindus soon showed itself in the language of the people. A new dialect formed itself—the language which we now-a-days call *Urdu*, or *Hindustani*. The share of the Hindus in the formation and perfection of this new dialect is, we believe, greater than historians and scholars are generally willing to admit. The origin of Urdu and the time at which it arose (Shahjahan's reign), will appear in a new light when viewed in connection with the progress of the Hindus in the study of the Persian language; the and question which has occasionally been put 'Why did not Urdu form itself before?' seems to us completely answered. It arose when the

* Khafi Khan.

Hindus took to Persian education ; if they had not been an apt medium for receiving and spreading the new dialect, Urdu would as little have formed itself during the reign of Shahjahan, as under the rule of the Pathans. From analogy we may conclude that the continuance of Urdu as a spoken and written language will mainly depend upon the continuance of Persian studies in this country. The generation of Persian-speaking Hindus has, even in Bengal, not yet died out.

It would be of interest, if we possessed complete rolls of Government officers for the reigns of several Mughal emperors, to compare the number of Hindus and Muhammadans. We only possess lists of grantees and nobles for two reigns, those of Akbar and Shahjahan ; and though the proportion of the officials taken from the two races might have been very different in the lower ranks of the service, the numerical strength and the progress of influence of the Hindus are sufficiently marked in the lists of nobles. We must premise that the higher officers of the Government were divided into 'commands' or *mansabs*. The highest rank was a *mansab* of 5000 troopers, i.e., a commander of 5000 was supposed to maintain from the revenue of the lands made over to him a contingent of 5000 troopers ; but the full number was never kept up, and under Shahjahan the rule was that the contingent should not exceed one-fourth of the number indicated by the title. The next *mansabs* were commands of 4000, 3500, 3000, 2500, 2000, 1500, 1000, 900, &c., the lowest that entitled an officer to the rank of *amir*, or noble, being, during the reign of Akbar, a *mansab* of 200, and during the reign of Shahjahan one of 500. The *mansabs* of the imperial princes were all above 5000, and went as high as 30,000. Now, from the lists in the *Ain*, we see that about 1590 A.D. there were—

among 252 Commanders of *mansabs* from
5000 to 500 31 Hindus

„ 163 Commanders of ditto from
500 to 200 26 „

Fifty years later, during the reign of Shahjahan, in 1640 A.D., we see from the lists in the *Padishahnumah* there were—

among 12 Commanders of *mansabs* above 5000... no Hindus,

„ 609 Commanders of ditto from 5000
to 500 110 „*

or more than three-and-a-half times the number employed under Akbar. For the reigns of Jahangir and Aurangzeb we possess no correct tables. But, though the Hindu officers increased in number, they lost slightly in rank. They had served Akbar most faithfully. In none of the numerous rebellions of chiefs, as those of

* The names of Commanders below 500 are not given.

Abdullah Khan Uzbek, Khan Zaman and the Mirzas, did a single Hindu participate, and their faithfulness shone conspicuously at the outbreak of the great Bengal military revolt at the beginning of 1579. Man Singh, after the second conquest of Orissa, was raised to a *mansab* of 7000, a rank which no Muhammadan before had attained. A Hindu was thus the first at Court. Under Jahangir, the highest offices were occupied by the relations of Nur Jahan; and under Shahjahan we find one Musalman holding a command of 9000; six, commands of 7000; and five, commands of 6000; whilst Rajas Jaswant Singh, Jai Singh, and Rana Jagat Singh, held only commands of 5000, being the 17th, 19th, and 24th, respectively, in rank among Shahjahan's officers. Under Aurangzeb, the Hindu officers had become so numerous that he thought it high time to persecute them. He discouraged them on every possible occasion, and appointed Muhammadans in their stead. His religious zeal rendered him so blind that, in the 22nd year of his reign, he revived the *jazyah* which Akbar had abolished, and deprived Hindus of land and Rajas of whole parganahs in commutation of the hated tax; and the crescentades which he commenced against Hindu temples, his forcible conversions, the removal of Hindu wards to Court, &c., contributed in no small degree to the downfall of the empire.

The matrimonial alliances entered into by the Mughal Court with Hindu families increased the influence of the Hindus. Mixed marriages were, on the whole, confined to the Court; but we should err, if we were to think that the old kings of Delhi and their courtiers only married Muhammadan girls. We know, for example, that Náilah, the mother of Firuz Shah, was the daughter of Raja Mall Bhatti. But whilst such marriages in former times were the result of forcible abductions, we find from the time of Akbar one new feature, *viz.*, that some Hindu Rajas were *anxious* to conclude matrimonial alliances with the Court. Some Rajput families, however, objected, and Muhammadan historians tell us that only Kachhwáha and Ráthor princesses ever entered the imperial harem. But how numerous intermarriages were, may be seen from the fact that Jahángir, Khusrau, Shahjahan, Bahádur Shah, Kambakhsh, Azinushshau, Alamgir II, had all Hindu mothers. These frequent inter-marriages are the more remarkable as they were all one-sided. It has been said that no Rajput would have accepted in return a Muhammadan princess, and the intimate connection, in the eyes of Hindus, of the final salvation of the soul with the purity of race, renders this statement very probable. But no Mughal emperor would have dreamed of marrying his daughter to a Hindu. There is a curious passage in connection with this subject in the *Memoirs of Jahangir*. On one of his journeys to Kashmír, he came across several Muhammadan communities near Rájor and Bhimbar, who

about 250 years before had forcibly been converted to Islam by Fīrūz Shāh. They practised female infanticide, buried women alive with their dead husbands, and married the daughters of their Hindu neighbours. But the emperor was shocked to hear that they also betrothed their own girls to Hindus, and gave the order that this practice was to cease at once upon pain of death. "Marrying a Hindu girl" he says, "is not so bad; but to give one's daughter to a Hindu! Lord, protect us against the machinations of the evil one!" Under later emperors, the Hindu princesses who entered the harem, were generally converted; but Akbar was too fond of Hinduism, and Jahangir too indifferent towards Islam, to interfere with the religion of his Hindu wives. But something jarred on Jahangir's feelings as son, when in his Memoirs he chronicles the death of his Hindu mother. As a Muhammadan, he now reflected upon what had perhaps never occurred to him before, that she would enter everlasting damnation. This would have been a disgrace to him, especially as emperor; hence he naïvely expresses a hope that God will consider her case as a special one, and receive her into Paradise.

We now proceed to give a few biographical notes on the principal Rajas who served at the Mughal Court. In making selections, the writer has not followed any particular principle, though the preference has been given to such personages as are often mentioned in histories. The biographical notes themselves have all been taken from Muhammadan historians, and chiefly from a work entitled *Madsir-ul-Umarā*, or 'Deeds of the Amirs.' The work is as rare as it is valuable, and if the following notes are not of sufficient interest for the general reader, they are at least for the greater part new.

1.—RAJA BIR BAL.

His name was either Māhesh Das, or Brahman Das—the histories differ. He was a Brahman by caste, and appears to have been a native of Bandelkand. Soon after Akbar's accession in 1556, he came as a Bhat, or minstrel, from Kālpī to Court, where his *bon mots*, his musical skill and poetical talent, soon made him the general favourite. His Hindi verses, many of which are still current among the people of India, were so much liked that Akbar conferred on him the title of *Kab Rāi*, or poet-laureate, and appointed him some time afterwards to a *mansab*.

In 1573, he was raised to the rank of Rāja, and received at the same time the name of Bīr Bal, or Bīr Bar, by which he is best known. At that time Jai Chand, Rāja of Nagarkot, or Kāngrah, was at Court, and having displeased the Emperor, he was imprisoned. His territory was confiscated and given to Bīr Bal as *jāgīr*. The historian Badaoni states that the only object of these

harsh proceedings was to provide Bir Bal with a grant of land. But Jai Chand's son, who was in Kangrah, determined to resist the Emperor, and Akbar had to order the Governor of the Panjab, Husain Qulí Khán, to lay siege to Kangrah. The famous Bhawan temple outside the fort was taken. The siege was progressing, and the town reduced to extremities, when it was reported that the Mírzá under Ibrahim Husain Mirza had invaded the Panjab. The Imperialists, therefore, had to raise the siege and content themselves with a heavy indemnity. Bir Bal, of course, could not enter upon his *jágír*, but received soon after a grant of land near Kálinjar, and was raised to the rank of commander of one thousand. He continued, however, to stay at Court, or accompanied the Emperor on his expeditions, chiefly those to Gujrat. On many occasions he was selected for missions. Thus he, together with Raja Lonkaran, who has been mentioned above, concluded the marriage contract between the Rai of Dongarpur and Akbar.

He is said to have been principally instrumental in effecting Akbar's apostacy from Islam. He impressed upon him the importance of sun-worship; for "the ripening of the grain in the fields, the illumination of the universe, and the lives of men depended upon the sun. People should, therefore, adore the great luminary, and turn in prayer towards the east where he rises."

In 1586, an expedition was sent against the Yúsufzais, and when Zain Khan, the commander, required immediate reinforcements, Akbar ordered Abulfazl and Bir Bal to cast lots for the command of the auxiliaries to be sent to Kábul. To the Emperor's sorrow, the lot fell on Bir Bal. Accompanied by Hakim Abul-Fath, a distinguished officer at Court, he departed for Pasháwar, and joined Zain Khan in Sawád (Swat). Neither he nor Abul Fath agreed with Zain Khan, and refused to accept his wise proposal to withdraw by a certain route. Zain Khan paid no attention to their insubordination, and apprehending disaster, joined them on their return. When the Afghans saw the Imperialists retreating, they attacked them from all sides, showering from the heights arrows and stones on the army. The soldiers lost all courage, the horses ran into the train of elephants, and Zain Khán's bravery could not stop the rout. In the greatest disorder did the Imperialists reach the next station, temporarily safe from danger because the enemies were engaged in plunder. But at night the rumour spread that the Afghans had come up to the camp; the soldiers dispersed, and losing their way, several detachments entered the valleys occupied by the mountaineers, where they were cut off to a man. Bir Bal was among the slain. Hakim Abulfath and Zain Khán reached with difficulty the Fort of Attock. The total loss of the Imperialists is stated to have been 8,000 men and 500 officers and nobles.

None among all the slain was more sincerely regretted by Akbar than Raja Bir Bal. His grief was intensified by the circumstance that not even the body had been recovered, so that it might have been buried. He consoled himself, however, with the hope that the purifying rays of the sun would have shone upon the corpse and that his favourite was now free from all earthly fetters. According to Badáoni, the Hindus at Court, seeing the effect which Bir Bal's death had caused in Akbar's demeanour, fabricated a story that he had been seen in the hills of Kangrah, walking about with Jogis and Sanyásis, and the emperor believed the rumour, thinking that Bir Bal was ashamed to come to Court on account of the defeat. A man was therefore sent to Kangrah to inquire into the truth of the rumour, but nobody there had seen Bir Bal. Some time after, another report was brought to Court that Bir Bal had been seen at Kálinjar, where his jágír was situated. The Collector of the district stated that a barber had recognized him by certain marks which the man had distinctly seen when one day engaged by Bir Bal to rub his body with oil; from that time, however, Bir Bal had concealed himself. Akbar ordered the barber to be sent to Court, and the Collector of Kálinjar seized upon a poor innocent traveller, charged him with murder, and kept him in concealment, giving out that he was Bir Bal. The Collector could, of course, send no barber to Court, but he killed the traveller to avoid detection, and reported that there was no doubt about the identity, but that Bir Bal had since died. Akbar went actually through a second mourning, but ordered the Collector and several others to appear before him. On arrival, they were for some time tortured as a punishment for the delay that had occurred in the despatch of the report, and the Collector was, moreover, heavily mulcted.

Bir Bal had a son of the name of Lála. He possessed neither the qualities of his father nor the favour of the emperor. Expecting rapid promotion, he lived the life of a spendthrift; but he was disappointed in his hopes, and having squandered away his property, he renounced Court life, turned *faqír*, and was no more heard of.

The house which, according to the tradition, Bir Bal inhabited at Fathpúr Sikrî, may still be seen.

2.—THE KACHHWAHAS OF AMBER (Jaipur).

The Kachhwáhas of Amber trace their origin to Dhola Rai, who in 967 A.D., is said to have founded the State of Amber, which is still held by his descendants, the present Maharaja of Jaipur being the thirty-fourth from the Rai.

The Kachhwáhas are a Rajput clan of great antiquity and renown. They are divided into two powerful branches called *Rájárvat*

and *Shaikháwat*. To the former belong Bihári Mall, Man Singh, Jai Singh I, Sawái Jai Singh, founder of Jaipúr and author of the astronomical tables which go by the name of *Zij-i-Muhammadsháhí*, and the present Maharaja. The latter branch, which now covers a large surface of the Jaipúr territory, was founded by Shaikhjí. It is said that one of the ancestors of this branch had no male issue. A Muhammadan Shaikh, however, had pity on him and prayed for him till God gave him a son. From motives of gratitude, the boy was called *Shaikh* or *Shaikhjí*. Hence the name of *Shaikháwat*, by which his descendants are designated. Raja Lonkaran, Mirza Manohar, Rai Sal Darbari, &c., belong to this branch.

The seventeenth descendant from Dhola Rai was Prithiraj, who, according to Abulfazl, had 18 sons. Muhammadan historians mention five of them—Púran Mall (the eldest); Bihári Mall; Askaran; Rúpsí Bairági,* and Jagmall (the youngest). Púran Mall was killed in a fight with Mirza Hindal, brother of the Emperor Humayun. A son of his, Soja or Socha, is mentioned.

Púran Mall was succeeded by his brother Bihári Mall, also called Bihárá Mall. He was the first Rajput that paid his respects at Akbar's Court. After Humayun's final defeat by Sher Shah, the imperial officers had to surrender the forts of the districts, and Majnún Khán, one of Humayun's officers, was besieged in Nárnaul by Haji Khán, who was a distinguished commander in Sher Sháh's service. Majnun happened to be a friend of Bihári Mall, and, through his intercession, the fort of Nárnaul was peacefully handed over without further loss to the imperialists. After Akbar's accession, Majnun brought Bihári Mall's services to the notice of the Emperor, and the Raja was invited to come to court, where he was presented before the end of the first year of Akbar's reign. An incident occurred at the first interview which made some impression on the youthful Emperor. Akbar sat on a *must* elephant, when suddenly the animal got restive and ran furiously about, beyond the control of the driver. The people present at the assembly gave way in great precipitation; only Bihári Mall's Rajputs, to the admiration of Akbar, stood firm.

In the sixth year, Akbar made a pilgrimage to Ajmír to the tomb of the great Muhammadan saint Mu'in-i-Chishtí, whom the Mughal Emperors of Delhi looked on as the patron of their family. When entering the Amber territory, he heard to his regret that Soja, son of Púran Mall, had instigated the imperial Governor of Malwah to make war on Bihári Mall, and that the latter had occupied and fortified the passes of his district. The

* Some historians call him the son of Bihari Mall's brother.

presence of the Emperor stopped all hostilities, and Bihári Mall, with his whole family, paid his respects at Sangánir, near Amber, and was most honourably received. His request to enter into Akbar's service and to strengthen the ties of friendship by a matrimonial alliance was granted. On his return from Ajmir, Akbar received Bihári Mall's daughter at Sambhar, and accompanied by the Raja himself, his son Bhagwan Das, and Kunwar Man Singh, returned to Agra, where Bihári Mall was made a commander of five thousand, the highest dignity of the Court.

Not long after, Bihári Mall died at Agra. Historians mention four of his sons—Bhagwan Das; Bhopat; Jaguath; and Silhadí.

Bihári Mall was succeeded, both in the *raj* and in his rank as commander of five thousand, by his eldest son, Bhagwan Das. He saved Akbar's life in the Gujrátí wars with the Mirzas, in which he also lost his brother Bhopat. For a long time he was Governor of the Punjab.

Bhagwan Das died in the end of 1589 at Láhor. It is said that on returning from Todar Mall's funeral, he had an attack of strangury, to which he succumbed. At his death he was a commander of 5000, and had the title of *Amír-ul-Umará*. The Jáni Masjid of Láhor was built by him. During his lifetime he occasionally suffered from fits of madness. Thus, when appointed Governor of Zábulistán, he inflicted a dangerous wound on himself with a dagger. His daughter also, who was married to to Prince Salím (Jahángír), is said by her husband to have shown signs of insanity. A few years before Akbar's death, she destroyed herself by swallowing opium from grief and melancholy, as her husband says, at the behaviour of her son Khusráu and her brother Madhu Sing.

Jaguath, Bhagwán's brother, distinguished himself in the war with Ráná Partáb. He slew the renowned champion Rám Dás, son of Jai Mall. During the reign of Jahángír, he reached the dignity of a commander of 3000. Some of his descendants are mentioned, as :—

Ram Chand, son of Jaguath.

|
Raja Mánrúp, who died in the 4th year of Sháhjahán's reign (1631).

|
Gopal Singh.

Silhadí, Bihári Mall's fourth son, was under Akbar a commander of 400.

Bhagwan Das was succeeded by his renowned adopted son, Mán Singh. He was born at Amber, and was introduced to Akbar when on his way through Sangánir, as mentioned above. Muhammadan historians do not mention the name of Mán Singh's father; they only say that Bhagwan was his uncle. Mán

Singh's great deeds are the defeat of Ráuá Kíká near Gogundah, the conquest of Orissa, the defeat of the Afgháns at Sherpur Atái (between Sooree and Murshidabad), and the pacification and annexation of Eastern Bengal, and are given pretty correctly in our histories. He served Akbar, as Governor of Kabul, and of Bihar, Bengal, and Orissa, and reached the rank of a commander of 7000. At court, like several of his descendants, he was generally called *Mírzá Rájá*, and had, moreover, the title of *Farzand*, or son.

Man Singh died a natural death in the ninth year of Jahángir's reign (1023, A.H., or 1614 A.D.), whilst in the Dakhin. Sixty of his fifteen hundred wives are said to have burned themselves on the funeral pile. Only one of his numerous sons, Bháo Singh, outlived him.

The ground on which the Taj in Agra stands belonged to him. He also built Rajmahall (Akbarnagar) and Salímnagar, the fort of Sherpur Múcha (North-Eastern Bengal).

It is not stated in the histories why Bhagwán Dás adopted Man Singh. He had male issue, and three of his sons are mentioned, Madhu Singh, Partáb Singh, and Ukhiraj. The *ráj* was certainly secured to Mán Singh's posterity.*

Madhu Singh, the first son of Bhagwan Das, played no inconsiderable part at court. He served with distinction under Mán Singh in the wars with the Rana, and in Afghanistan, and was promoted to a command of 3000. His son, Satr Sál, or Chatr Sál, served under Jahangir, and was killed, together with his two sons, Bhím Singh and Anand Sing, in the 3rd year of Shahjahán's reign, in the Dakhin. His other sons, Ajab Singh and Ugra Sen, also served under Shahjahan, and held commands of 800.

Partáb Singh, the next son of Bhagwan Das, accompanied Mán Singh to Orissa. During Mán Singh's temporary absence from Bengal in the Dakhin, Partáb and Mahá Singh (Mán Singh's grandson) were attacked and defeated by the Afghans under Osman near Bhadrak, and Orissa and South Western Bengal were temporarily lost. Mán Singh returned, defeated the Afghans at Sherpore Atái, and gave the Afghanse jágirs in Eastern Bengal. Partáb held a command of 400.

* Col. J. C. Brooke in his *Political History of the State of Jeypore* (Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Foreign Department, No. lxxv, 1868) says (p. 17) that Mán Singh's father was Jagat Singh, youngest brother of Bhagwan Das. Jagat Singh's elder brothers were Súr Singh and Madhu Singh. The same statements are repeated in

his 'Genealogical Tree of the Maharajas of Jaipur' (appendix A), which Col. Brooke evidently obtained in Jaipur itself. But it is noticeable that the genealogies of Bihari Mall, Bhagwan Das, Mán Singh, and Jagat Singh, differ in almost every item from the statements of Muhammadan historians.

Ukhiraj, a third son of Bhagwán Das, is rarely mentioned in the histories. He had three sons, Abhi Ram,* Bají Ram, and Shíám Rám. According to Jahángír's Memoirs (p. 12), they had for some reason or other a bad name at court. The Emperor had pardoned them on several occasions, when, three months after his accession, it was brought to his notice that they contemplated a flight to the Rana, the hereditary enemy of the Delhi empire. He asked whether any courtier would stand security for them, and as none came forward, their grants of land were cancelled, and officers were sent to deprive them of their insignia and any military stores they might have. They opposed the execution of the order, and a sharp fight took place before the very *Díwán-i-khás*, or state-hall of the emperor. Several people were killed; but the three brothers were at last overpowered and cut down. Jahángír does not state what crimes they had committed, and we may assume that their offences were of a personal character. He had every reason to dislike the Kachhwáhas. It is well known that Mán Singh had wished to secure the succession to Khusrau, and if he had been more active,† he might have carried his plan into effect. The emperor, therefore, classed him among his enemies, and as he was the head of the family, the Kachhwáhas lost the influence which they had under Akbar. Another circumstance offended Jahángír's pride. On his accession he had expressed a wish to marry the daughter of Jagat Singh, eldest son of Man Singh. But the mother of the girl was a princess of the Hara clan, who like the Udaipúris, looked upon intermarriages with Muhammadans as impure, and the emperor was refused. It was only when Raja Bhoj Hárá, her maternal grandfather, in order to evade Jahángír's revenge, had committed suicide, that the girl was brought to the imperial harem. But the formal refusal, upheld as it had been by the Kachhwáhas, was never forgotten, and if we are not mistaken, the marriage with Jagat Singh's daughter closes the list of inter-marriages of Mughals and Kachhwáhas.

Of Man Singh's sons the following are mentioned by Muhammadan historians:—Jagat Singh, who died in 1008 A.H.; Bhao Singh, who died in 1030; Sabal Singh; Arjan Singh; Sakat Singh; and Himmat Singh, who died in 1005. Brooke also gives six, Jagat, Bhim, Úrju, Sukhat, Kallíán, and Himmat Singh.

Jagat Singh served in the 42nd year of Akbar's reign, against Raja Báśú of Pathán and Dhamerí (Núrpúr in North-Eastern

* Brooke mentions a brother of Mán Singh of the name of Abhey Raj. There seems to be some confusion in the names of Ukhiraj and Abhi Ram.

† He waited too long for Akbar's death. The other party, whose leader was the grand Shaikh Farid of Bukhárá, proclaimed Jahángír emperor several hours before Akbar had closed his eyes.

Paujab). Two years later, he was ordered to take his father's place in Bengal. Whilst on the way to join his appointment, he died at Agra from excessive drinking.

Bhao Singh was at the death of Akbar (1605 or 1614 A.H.) a commander of 1000. On the accession of Jahángír, he was promoted to a *mansab* of 1500, and three years later to a command of 2000. According to Rajput custom, Mahá Singh, son of Jagat Singh, should have succeeded Mán Singh; but as Jahángír was fond of Bhao Singh, he called him to Court on Mán Singh's death, gave him the title *Mírzá Rája* and a command of 4000, and sent him back to Amber. A year later he was made a commander of 5000, and was ordered to take a part in the Dakhin invasion. Like his brother, Jagat Singh, he died from excessive drinking (A.H. 1030).

Arjan Singh and Subal Singh are mentioned in the *Aín* as commanders of 500. Sakat Sing held a *mansab* of 400. They died before their father.

Himmat Singh distinguished himself under his father in the wars with the Afghans.

Mahá Singh, son of Jagat Singh, served with Partab Singh in Orissa, and was present at the disastrous battle of Bhadrak. He was rapidly promoted, and held in 1605 a command of 2000. During the reign of Jahángír, he served in Bangash (Kábul), and against Rája Bikramájit of Bándhú (Bandelkánd). On Man Singh's death in 1023, he should have succeeded, but Jahángír appointed Bháo Singh to Amber, and gave Mahá Singh by way of compensation the district of Bándhú, and soon after the title of Rája. Mahá Singh died in 1026 at Balapur in Berar, like his father, from excessive drinking.

He was succeeded by Jai Singh—next to Mán Singh, the most illustrious of the Kachhwáhas. Though at the death of his father only twelve years old, Jahángír bestowed upon him a command of 1000, and attached him to the corps of Prince Parwíz in the Dakhin. On Shahjahan's accession he was made a commander of 4000. He suppressed, together with Qásim Khan Juwainí, disturbances in Mahában (Sirkar Agra), and accompanied the Khan Khanan to Kabul, which was besieged by Nazar Muhammad Khan, king of Balkh. In the second and third years of Shahjahan's reign, he pursued, under Abul Hasan Turbatí and Sháistah Khán, the rebellious Khan Jahán Lodí. In the sixth year, he returned to Court, where once, at an elephant-fight, he saved the life of the young Aurangzeb. An elephant charged the prince, when Jai Singh attacked the animal with a spear, and allowed Aurangzeb time to escape. He then served under Prince Shujá in the Dakhin, and was made, in the eighth year, a commander of 3000. After an expedition, in the following year, against Sháhá, Bhonsla, he received, in the 12th year, the title of *Mírza Rája*. Three

years later, he distinguished himself in the siege of Mau against Jagat Singh, son of Raja Basu of Dhameri, and being the first to plant his standard on the fort, he was made military commander of the district. After a short time he returned to Court, and was ordered to join Dará Shikoh in the expedition against Kandahár. In the 17th year, he was made Subahdar of the Dakhin and remained in office for about three years. He then accompanied Aurangzeb to Balkh, where his Rajputs rendered distinguished service, and two years after, to Kandahar. But the expeditions failed. Assisted by his son, Kírat Singh, he suppressed in the 23rd year, disturbances in Pahári, Kámah, and Koh Mujáhid.* Jai Singh's contingent consisted of 4000 horse, and 6000 matchlock-men. The tribe of the Mews, against whom the war was directed, were overpowered; their jungles were cut down, and a number of men and women were killed or led into captivity. With a view to insure order in future, Jai Singh induced some of his subjects to settle in the ravaged districts. He also received for his services the Parganah of Chál Kalánah (Sirkar Alwar), which yielded a revenue of nearly two lakhs of rupees. In the 25th year, he moved again with Aurangzeb to Kandahár, and continued to serve there under Dará Shikoh, but the town was not taken. Jai Singh then returned for a short time to Amber. In the 28th year he operated with Sa'dullah against Chitor.

When Shahjahan fell ill,† and his three sons, Dara Shikoh, Shujá and Aurangzeb, contended for the throne, the histories inform us that the fate of the empire was considerably influenced by the attitude which Jai Singh took. Dara, the heir-presumptive, attached him to his party, and appointed him *atálík* (chargé d'affaires) to his son Sulaiman Shikoh. The discomfiture of Shujá brought Jai Singh a commandership of 7000. But after the battle of Samogar, in which Aurangzeb defeated Dará and Jaswant Singh, Jai Singh joined the party of the victor. The service which he rendered before, and in, the final battle of Deorá, near Ajmir, contributed in a great measure to Aurangzeb's success. In the beginning of 1075, Jai Singh was ordered to operate against Síwá. He besieged and took Púrandhar, and obliged Síwá to cede twenty-three forts in the district of Aurangabad.‡ Immediately after this conquest, Jai Singh invaded Bījápúr, because Adilshah had assisted Síwá.

Soon after, Jai Singh died at Burhanpur (28th Muharram, 1078, or 10th July, 1667). Muhammadan historians§ state

* Sirkar Sahár (Bhartpur Territory).

been ashamed.

† Muhammadan historians say that Sháhjahán suffered and died from strangury (*habs i baul*). Bernier says it was a disease of which Sháhjahán, old as he was, should have

‡ A quarter of the town of Aurangabad was called after Jai Singh.

§ *Alumgírnamah*, p 1051. *Maábir Alamgiri*, p. 62.

that he died a natural death, and that his son Rám Singh was immediately made Rája. Colonel Brooke (*l.c.*, p. 14) says, though he does not mention his authority, that Jai Singh was killed by his son Kirat Singh, whom Aurangzeb had promised the succession, and that the Emperor had engaged his services, because he thought Jai Singh too powerful a subject. "The feeling of the country, however, was too strong against the parricide, to allow such a succession to be carried out, and Kirat Singh was obliged to content himself with Kámah, now in the Bhutpore territory, and which his descendants enjoy to this day; but the parricidal act of their ancestor has ever excluded them from any chance of succeeding to the Jeypore throne." Kirat Singh certainly was at Burhanpore when Jai Singh died. He had in nearly every war served under his father, as, for instance, in the Mew disturbances, after which he received Kámah, Pahúrí, and Koh-Mujáhid, and was appointed Faujdar of Mewát. Shahjahan, two years before being deposed, had made him a commander of 1000, and after the wars with Síwá, Aurangzeb gave him a command of 2500. After the death of his father, he was made a commander of 3000, a promotion which does not look like a reward for the great crime imputed to him. Kirat continued to serve in the Dakhin, and died in the beginning of 1084 (1673 A.D.)

Jai Singh was succeeded by his first-born son, Ram Singh. He had risen under Sháhjahán to the rank of commander of 3000. In the battle of Samogar he was with Dara Shikoh, but joined soon afterwards, like his father, the party of Aurangzeb. He served under Muhammad Sultán, in the pursuit of Shujá, and took a part in the capture of Sulaiman Shikoh at Srinagar. Subsequently he served under his father against Síwá, and when the Bhonsla and his son Sámbar presented themselves at Court, Aurangzeb warned Rám Singh to have a sharp eye on them, and not to let them escape. But they fled (beginning of 1077), and Rám Singh fell into temporary disgrace, and lost his rank. The fact that Jai Singh died soon afterwards may be construed into a suspicion against Kirat Singh. But Rám Singh was immediately restored, received the title of Rája, and a mansab of 4000. In the same year (1078), he was ordered to Gawáhátí (Gowhatty) in Assam, the Thanahdar of which place, Sayyid Firuz Khan, had been murdered by the Assamese. Rám Singh remained in Assam till the middle of 1086 (1675).^{*} He died soon after. His son Kunwar Kishn Singh † died when young, of a wound he had received. He had served for some time in Kabul.

^{*} Rám Singh's long stay in Assam was evidently a punishment.

† Colonel Brooke's sources count Kishn Singh among the *Rajas* of

Jaipur; but, according to the Muhammadau historians, he appears to have died before his father.

Bishn Singh, son of Kunwai Kishn Singh, succeeded his grandfather Ram Singh. He took part in the expeditions against the Ráthors, and was for some time Faujdar of Islamabad (Muttra). He died in 1699, and was succeeded by Bijai Singh, who in 1699 was made *Raja*, and received from Aurangzeb the name of Jai Singh II, whilst his brother was henceforth called Bijai Singh. He served under Asad Khan against the Marhattas, and was appointed to a mansab of 2000.

On the death of Aurangzeb, Jai Singh left the Dakhin, with Muhammad A'zam Shah and took part in the battle of Sarái Jájú, near Dholpúr, between the prince and Bahádúr Shah. Jai Singh's brother, Bijai Singh, was with Bahádúr. On the day of the battle, Jai Singh joined the victorious party; but Bahádúr Shah ever looked upon him as a traitor, and made his brother a commander of 3000. Quarrels arose in consequence between the two brothers, and each tried to get possession of Amber. To prevent open hostilities, Bahádúr Shah appointed an imperial officer, Sayyid Husain Khan Bárha, Faujdar of Amber. Jai Singh at first quietly submitted; but during the expedition led by Bahádúr Shah against Kámbakhsh, Jai Singh and Raja Ajít Singh left the imperial army, marched on Amber, and ultimately succeeded in killing the Bárha Sayyid. Though this amounted to open rebellion, Bahádúr Shah pardoned Jái Singh at the request of Mun'im Khánkháná.

Under Farrukhsiyar, Jai Singh received the title *Dhíráj Raja Jai Singh Sarwái*.* But as the Government was in the hands of the Bárha Sayyids, Jai Singh could not expect much favour; and when the emperor had selected him to command the expedition against the Jat Raja Chauráman, the Sayyids† appointed their maternal uncle Sayyid Khan Jahan Barha to the command of a second army, and Jai Singh, in disgust, returned to court, full of hatred towards the Sayyids who had spoiled his laurels. Towards the end of Farrukhsiyar's reign, they even removed him from Court, and Jai Singh gladly availed himself of the opportunity to return to Amber. Later, he joined the party of Nekúsiyar at Agra, but when his cause began to fail, he entered into a reconciliation with the Sayyids.

When the power of the Bárha brothers was broken, Jai Singh paid his respects at the Court of Muhammad Shah, and was well received. He was again sent with an army against Chauráman, and was, in 1145 (1723 A.D.), appointed Governor of Málwah, which office he held till 1148, when he surrendered the province to Báji Rao.

* *Sarwái* means one and a quarter. The word was to indicate his high rank, he being in the eyes of the Emperor more than one.

† The two renowned brothers, Hasan Ali Khan Qutb-ul-mulk and Husain Ali Khan.

Jai Singh was a liberal patron of science, and distinguished for his engineering and architectural skill. He was an excellent mathematician, and a distinguished astronomer. In 1728, he built Bijainagar, or, as it is now generally called, Jaipur. The observatories which he erected after his own plans, in his capital, in Delhi, Ujjain, and Benares, have justly handed down his name to posterity. With their aid, he compiled astronomical tables which, in honour of his sovereign, he called *Zīj i Muhammad Shāhī*. The *Maāsir* says that he paid particular attention to the orbit of Saturn; though death frustrated his plan of observing and registering a complete revolution of that planet.

Jai Singh was succeeded by his eldest son I'shūr Singh, and soon after by Madhū Singh, Jai Singh's younger son by an Udaipuri princess.

Madhu's son, Prithi Singh, lost a portion of his country to the Marhattas. He was succeeded by his younger brother Partab Singh, whose son, Jagat Singh, is the grandfather of the present Mahārāja of Jaipur, Ram Singh II.

Regarding the collateral branches of the house of Amber, the information given by Muhammadan historians is less detailed.

It was mentioned above, on p. 283, that Rūpsī Bairāgi was either the brother, or the son of a brother, of Bihārī Mall. He was a commander of 1500, and served with his son Jai Mall, and other Kachhwahas, in the Gujrati wars. This is the Jai Mall, referred to in the story of the heavy armour which Elphinstone relates.* Rūpsī felt offended, because the Emperor ordered Karan, a Rāthor, to put on Jai Mall's armour, and angrily demanded it back; on which Akbar took off his own armour and gave it Karan. Bhagwan Das thought it, however, necessary to ask the Emperor to pardon Rūpsī's rudeness.

Jai Mall distinguished himself in the conquest of Bāndi (spring 1577, A.D.) He died suddenly at Chausā on his way to Bengal. It was his wife whom Akbar saved from the funeral pile. She was a daughter of Moth Raja,† and refused to mount the pile. Her own son, Udai Singh, however, forced her to do so, when Akbar arrived just in time to save her life.

Askaran, another brother of Bihārī Mall, is frequently mentioned in the histories. He served twice with distinction against Madhukar, the Bundelah Raja of Undcha (Oorcha, near Jhānsī), in Bihar under Todar Mall, and in the Dakhin. For a short time he was also Subahdar of Agra. He died soon after 1589.

His eldest son, Gordhan, was murdered by Karan, son of Soja,

* Elphinstone's *History of India*, fifth ed. p. 500, note. Another daughter of his (Jagat Gosāini) was married to Jahangir, and was the mother of Shahjahan.

† Udai Singh Moth Raja was the son of Rai Maldeo of Jodhpur.

in the middle of 1591. Abulfazl says in the *Akbarnamah* (end of 36th year) that of the 18 sons of Prithiraj ten were by the same mother. When the eldest, Puran Mall, was killed in the fight with Mirza Hindal, Soja was a child, and Ratan Singh, Puran Mall's brother, was raised to the throne.* But "from arrogance and wantonness he tore the veil of the honour of the Rajputs," and a party induced Askaran, his brother, to kill him and usurp the throne. This Askaran did. Karan, Soja's son, with a view to carry out a deep plan of revenge, took service under Askaran, and on a suitable opportunity, killed Gordhan before the very eyes of his father.

Raj Singh, Askaran's second son, succeeded him, and received from Akbar the title of Raja. He served in the Dakhin, was for a time commander of Gwalior, and took part in the siege of Asir. At Akbar's order, he pursued Bir Singh Deo, son of Madhukar, who had murdered Abulfazl, and though he did not succeed in capturing him, he seems to have inflicted a great deal of damage on the Buttelah clan, for which, in 1605, he was made a commander of 4000. In the reign of Jahangir, he served in the Dakhin, where he died in 1615.

Ram Das, son of Raj Singh, received in 1617 the title of Raja, and was a commander of 1500. One of his grandsons, Prasuttam Singh, became, in 1633, a convert to Islam, and received from Shah-jahan the name of *Ibádatmand*.

The youngest son of Prithiraj was Jagmál. He held under Akbar a command of 1000, and served in the Gujrati wars.

His son Kangar, was likewise a commander of 1000. He served in Gujrat, against the Rana, and in the Bengal military revolt. He died shortly before 1592.

Muhammadan historians mention several other Kachhwahas, though the notices are not sufficient to classify them. Thus Uchlá, son of Balbhadra, and three sons of "a brother of Bihari Mall" whose names are Mohan, Súr Dás, and Tiluksi. These four rebelled against Akbar, and were killed in 1580, not far from

* The disturbances consequent on Puran Mall's death ended with the appointment or usurpation, whichever it may have been, of Bihari Mall. All Muhammadan historians agree on this point, that Bihari Mall was Prithiraj's successor. "Tod supposes that Bhim (evidently another son of Prithiraj) succeeded his father, and that Bhim was succeeded by Aiskurrun [Askaran] a parricide. Bhim, however, was not the eldest son of Prithiraj, but the holder of one of the Kotrees, and his son Aiskurrun, having been adopted to the gadder of Nurwar, the Kotree became extinct. Bahari Mall paid homage to the Muhammadan power, and received from the Emperor Akbar (by some odd misprint, Colonel Brooke's Record has the *European Humayun*) the munsub of 5,000 as Raja of Amber." Brooke's *Political History of the State of Jeypore*, Selections from the Records of the Government of India, No. LXV, p. 14.

Rantanbhúr, by Dastam Khán, the imperial commander of that fort. Their rebellion is related in the *Akbarnamah* (25th year). The *Atin* also mentions Rám Chand and Bánka, who in 1590 were commanders of 400 ; another Man Singh, who held a mansab of 300 ; and Kallá, who held one of 200.

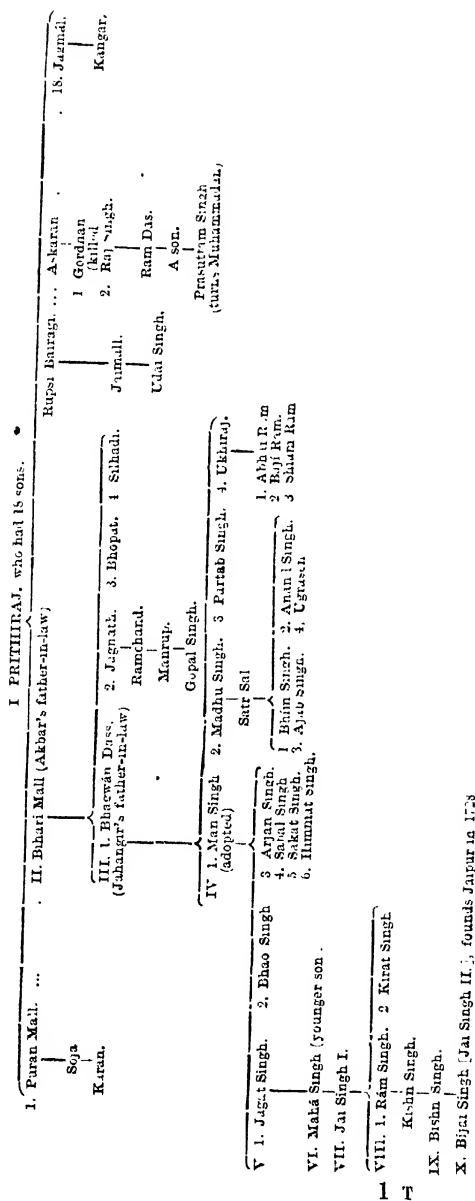
The *Padishahnámah* mentions Rai Tilúkchand, a commander of 1500 ; Jagram, of 900 ; Bhojráj, Singrá, and Mathurá Dás, of 700 ; and Prithi Singh, Kashi Singh, and Ugrasen, three grandsons of the famous Man Singh, who held commands of 500. They were all alive in 1647. It is possible that the family histories of the chiefs of Jaipur give the genealogical details left out by the Muhammadan historians. There is no doubt that some of the above are Shaikh-áwats.

We propose, in a future paper to continue these genealogical notices of Rajas under the Mughal Government, and to collect from the historians such biographical information as bears on the family history of the Shaikhawat Kachhwahas, and the illustrious Rajas of the Rathor clan.

The annexed table shows the genealogy of the Rajawat Kachhwahas of Amber and Jaipur for the Mughal period.

H. BLOCHMANN.

Genealogical Table of the Rājāvat Kachhviās of Amber and Jaipur, as given by the Muhammadan Historians of the Mughal period.



ART. IX.—THE BUDGET.

Supplement to the GAZETTE OF INDIA, March 1871.

SIR Richard Temple's Financial exposition for 1871-72, though not conspicuous for any great originality, nor differing much from previous statements of a similar nature, has nevertheless succeeded in creating an unusual amount of discussion, not only in the Indian press, but also within the charmed precincts of the Legislative Council itself. A seven hours' debate upon the Income Tax Bill, followed by a substantial victory on the part of the Opposition, is certainly a novelty in our legislation, and augurs well for the growing independence of what we may regard as the nucleus of a future Indian Parliament. Of course an attempt was made to strangle this independence in its birth, but we may fairly hope that the days of official despotism are past, and that the extraordinary members of the Council are no longer afraid to oppose or expose measures of the Executive Government which they conscientiously believe to be prejudicial to the interests of those whom they are selected to represent.

We propose, with the permission of our readers, to add a few words to the comments which have been so freely pronounced on the late financial statement. We feel that an apology is needed for drawing attention again to facts and figures which have been before the public so frequently during the past few weeks. It is probable that, before this number of the *Review* is in the hands of its subscribers, many of our remarks may have been anticipated. But it seems to us that a lesson is to be learnt from the very debate to which we have referred; and just as no single member of the Legislative Council was willing to record a silent vote upon so momentous a question, so, we think, no member of the fourth statee ought to abstain from throwing the weight of whatever influence it may possess, into the scale of the cause which it believes to be the most wise and expedient.

Sir Richard Temple's present financial statement is mainly remarkable in two points of view—the retention of the income-tax, and the inauguration of the scheme for the decentralization of financial control. The late debate confined itself, for the most part, to the discussion of these measures. There are other points in the Budget, however, which will demand attention in passing.

But before proceeding to criticise any particular measures, we must take exception to the unsatisfactory and self-sufficient tone which characterises the statement throughout. The statement itself is a mere array of figures—an exposition at great length of the facts which are disclosed in the figured tables. In this

light it is of course unexceptionable. But if we attempt to search for any exposition of the causes of financial failure or success, or for the enunciation of any great fiscal principles, we shall search in vain. Instead of explanation, we have an appeal to fortune, or an admission of ignorance; while, as to fiscal principles, if we are to judge from Sir R. Temple's reply to Mr. Bullen Smith, he would seem to be unaware of their very existence. Whenever Sir Richard does condescend to explanation, he either contradicts himself or talks nonsense. Last year he told us he possessed a mass of information in regard to opium cultivation in China; this year he confesses that he knows nothing about it. "I may have my opinion and conjectures, but I really do not know, and I have not heard of any one who does know." In one and the same breath we are told that the existence of a surplus in 1869-70 was no reason for a mitigation of taxation in 1870-71; but that the existence of a surplus in the latter year is a good reason for a mitigation of taxation in 1871-72. In regard to the following passage, we defy any one to say what it means:—

'It is feared that the improvement in customs is partly due to over-importation, which again may be in some respects connected with the abnormal condition of the European markets during this very eventful year. We may regret that the increase of the revenue does not yet indicate a corresponding improvement in trade. But the fact that such large quantities of goods have been taken (though at somewhat low prices), is an index of the prosperous condition of the people at this moment, and affords hope for the future progress of the trade.'

Indian finance has invariably been characterized by its extreme uncertainty. The statement which Sir Richard Temple laid before the Legislative Council on the 9th March, shows no improvement in this respect. From the way in which the subject is treated, moreover, we may almost despair of improvement. For, first, with regard to 1869-70. It will be recollected that our Chancellor of the Exchequer originally budgeted for a small surplus of £52,650. As the year wore on, a large deficiency was anticipated, estimated at one million and three quarters. New and extraordinary measures were taken in the middle of the year "to destroy the deficit, to run it hard, to break its back so to speak." According to Sir Richard's own admission, an improvement was thus effected to the extent of £1,523,765, or one million and a half. Still, in the regular estimates presented in April of last year, a deficit was exhibited amounting to £625,594. Of this estimate the Finance Minister spoke in the following terms:—

'The regular estimate which I now present, ought to be of a better kind, for it is based on eleven months' actuals for nearly all the receipts and for all civil expenditure in India, and ten months for army, marine and public works; leaving only one month, or in some cases

two months, for estimate, which estimate again is based on the actuals of the last months of former years. But even for the last months we have obtained actual data for some important branches on the receipt side especially.'

After this assurance, it is somewhat disheartening to find that this estimate is also wrong to the extent of no less a sum than three quarters of a million. But what is perhaps even more startling, is that, after all this bungling, the Financial Department should take credit to itself that "*the original estimate has been more than fulfilled!*" Wonderful foresight after the event!

The same air of self-complacency pervades Sir Richard Temple's treatment of the regular estimate for the year which has just closed.

'What, he asks, would have been the situation, had the opium increase of £1,071,519 not accrued? Why, the consequence would have been that, apart from the exceptional allotment of £200,000 to the local Governments wherewith to begin the provincial service scheme, and of £10,000 to the Trustees of the Indian Museum, I should have to-day shown a surplus of £162,581, or *almost exactly the sum originally estimated, viz., £163,410.*'

In other words, Sir Richard Temple would have the public believe that, had opium not improved to the extent of a million sterling, the regular estimate would have demonstrated the budget estimate to have been framed with an accuracy and shrewdness that would have been truly remarkable. But what is the actual state of the case? Why, in three items of expenditure alone—loss by exchange, army, and guaranteed interest—there is an increase over the budget estimate of upwards of a million and a quarter, which was totally unforeseen. Had not the revenue also unexpectedly increased to an equal extent, there would have been a deficit again and no surplus at all!

Thus we see that Indian finance is just as uncertain as ever it was, and statements such as those we have exposed, only serve to make the melancholy truth more aggravating still. Tall talk and big words about big figures will never compensate for this blot on our system, or reconcile the Indian public to what, rightly or wrongly, it attributes to incompetency. Even now there is no certainty that the past year may not after all close with a deficit.

Sir Richard Temple, however, estimates a surplus of a million, and this surplus he attributes to an unexpected improvement in the price of opium. It is quite true that opium will in all probability yield over a million in excess of Sir Richard's estimate; but the question is, whether that estimate was not originally over-cautious and unfair to the tax-payers. Sir Richard felt himself that his want of foresight in regard to this item called for explanation, but his apology is a lame one and simply amounts to a confession of

ignorance. The opium estimate for 1870-71 was, with one exception, the lowest that has ever been taken since the introduction of the Budget system, and whatever Sir Richard Temple may declare to the contrary, the press at the time almost unanimously pointed out that it was put at a million less than would actually be realized. In point of fact, the receipts under this head have been no larger during the year which has just closed than they were in the preceding year, and are less than the amount entered in the estimate for 1871-72. The truth would seem to be that, although the cultivation and consumption of opium in China have of course their effects upon the trade, the average price depends upon the action of our own Government to a much greater extent than is generally supposed. The statistics published by the Financial Department, prove beyond a doubt that the price is mainly influenced by a consideration of the supply. Thus, the highest average recorded was in 1861, when the annual supply had been reduced from upwards of 50,000 chests to a minimum of 21,400. The price that year was Rs. 1,871 per chest. The quantity was then increased up to a maximum of 64,100 chests in 1864, the price meanwhile gradually falling to a minimum of Rs. 956 a chest. In 1866 the quantity was reduced by one-third, and only 40,000 chests were sold. The effect was at once evident in a rise in the price to Rs. 1,325. Since then the quantity sold has been kept at a pretty steady figure, and the average prices have not varied more than a couple of hundred rupees per chest. Of course, even this amount of fluctuation, representing as it does a million sterling for 50,000 chests, is a serious item of uncertainty for any financier. But it is no worse than the million and a quarter of unforeseen expenditure which we have pointed out above, and under any circumstances—and this is the point on which we lay stress—it affords no reason for those periodical panics to which our Finance Ministers are now-a-days so subject. Taking one year with another, an average of from Rs. 1,100 to Rs. 1,200 a chest for a consumption of 50,000 chests, may be safely assumed, the deficiency of one year being made good by the excess of another.

We maintain, therefore, that any surplus that may be realized in 1870-71, cannot be fairly attributed to any extraordinary rise in the price of opium; on the contrary, it will be due solely to the income-tax, which forms the only abnormal item of revenue for the year. Any portion of its proceeds, therefore, which was not required to meet the year's expenditure, was so much unnecessary taxation. In other words, the issue between ourselves and Sir Richard Temple would seem to be this. In 1869-70 there was an unusual fall in the price of opium, and the result was a panic—some people said at the time an *unreasonable* panic—among those members of the Government of India who had charge

of the finances. In consequence of this panic, an income-tax of 7½*d.* in the pound was imposed. Meanwhile opium recovers itself; and it appears that a million sterling has been raised in excess of the country's requirements. Sir Richard Temple says, this is a surplus of opium revenue; *we* say, it represents surplus proceeds of the income-tax above the amount which was absolutely required. Whether Sir Richard Temple was justified in thinking it would be required, depends upon the amount of sagacity he showed in framing his opium budget.

One of the most disgraceful blots on our present system of finance lies in those periodical panics to which our financiers are so subject. These panics are not only very undignified for a great Government like that of India to give way to, but they are very expensive. Sir Richard Temple is pleased to designate them by the term *management*, but he will perhaps excuse us for reminding him that there is such a thing as bad management as well as good. Neither does the result of a measure always justify the means by which it is brought about. For take the case of the Public Works Department. Colonel Strachey has furnished us with several expositions on this subject; he has taken credit for the extraordinary reductions that have been made in his Department; but he has never yet favoured us with an approximate estimate of what that short-sighted order of September 1869 has cost the country. Little by little it creeps out, when buildings fall to the ground and Commissions are appointed to enquire into the cause. But where is the complete account? Unroofed barracks falling to pieces under the action of a tropical climate, *matériel* exposed for months and rotting in the sun or rain, establishments with nothing to do but to make out their monthly pay-bills! Is this a state of things creditable to our Government? And all done in the name of economy too! Surely it is very like the position of the man we have all read of who intended to build a tower and was not able to finish it. "And all that behold it, begin to mock him, saying, This man began to build and was not able to finish."

A second case in point is the action of Government in regard to the census. After the manner in which the various protests against the census have been over-ruled by the Government of India, it might have been expected that that Government had, at any rate, counted the cost and was prepared to incur it. To many men it seemed somewhat Quixotic to attempt to take a scientific and simultaneous census of a country in which the first difficulty is to find a sufficient number of intelligent men to fill up the returns; to others it appeared politically dangerous to make the attempt at a time when the country was groaning under a hated income-tax, with local cesses and what not in anticipation. But to all these considerations the Government of India turned a deaf ear. The prepa-

rations of the local Governments were urged on ; unwillingly, yet loyally, they set to, to carry out the wishes of the Supreme Government, when, at the eleventh hour—when infinite time and trouble had been given to the subject and a perceptible expenditure incurred, the whole proceeding is postponed, because, forsooth, the Financial Department cannot afford some five or six lakhs for the purpose. Most men probably do not regret this decision, and it is for this reason that so little notice has been taken of the extraordinary way in which it has been brought about. But if the matter be regarded dispassionately, it affords a very good instance of the mischievous manner in which the present action of the Financial Department is calculated to lead the Government into mal-administration and waste. For this is the second time the census has been postponed ; and when the project is taken up again, few will be found to enter into it heartily, or to believe that the Government sincerely intends to carry it out.

To return, however, from this digression. Sir Richard's whole policy, as disclosed in his successive financial statements, raises an important question in regard to the relation between the income-tax and opium, and the extent to which we may henceforth expect to see the former made to supplement any deficiency in the yield of the latter. Judging from the experience of past years, and from the declarations of the Government of India even while agreeing to limit the operation of the new Bill to the current year, we greatly fear that we must regard the income-tax as now added to the permanent sources of the revenue. If the discontent and disaffection which the tax has during the past year caused throughout the length and breadth of India, is insufficient to disturb the imperturbable self-complacency of the Financial Department, it can only be because the Government has resolved never again to surrender this obnoxious impost. The Government indeed assume to be strangely ignorant of the popular feeling on this subject. They would fain believe that the agitation on the subject is simply the work of a few selfish and interested Europeans in the Presidency towns. Sir Richard Temple seems to think that if there is no "oppression or over-taxation," the tax must necessarily be most equitable and excellent, and he points, with an air of triumph, to the "résumé of some thirteen cases" from the Government of Bengal, which are all that have been brought to the notice of the Financial Department, as a convincing proof that "oppression and over-taxation" have been reduced to a minimum. But Sir Richard Temple must be well aware that it is not only on account of oppression and over-taxation that the income-tax is unpopular. The income-tax is mainly unpopular in India because of its inquisitorial nature, and because direct taxation of any kind

is eminently unsuited to the character of the people. It is pretty generally understood that these views of the tax, as regards Bengal at all events, were very plainly laid before the Government of India some months ago, while to say that no remonstrance had been received from Madras, was simply to ignore the opinions to which Mr. Norton gave expression in Council without the slightest contradiction. The Local Cess Committee in the North-West told the same tale. They stigmatized the tax as one which is "odious both to the people on whom it is imposed and to the officers who are desired to impose it." There is, in fact, not a single district officer in India, who, if honestly asked to give a candid opinion on the subject, would not denounce the income-tax as one of the most iniquitous imposts that could be devised for this country. We may even cite Sir Richard Temple's own predecessor as a witness. "The peculiar objection which is entertained to an income-tax," said Mr. Massey, "is not so much the amount exacted under a moderate scale of assessment, but the inquisitorial process to which it is necessary to resort for the purpose of fixing the amount payable by those classes whose incomes are derived from the profits of professions and trades. The process is not very much to the taste of the English people, but it is specially repugnant to the habits and feelings of the people of India."

But, even supposing that the Government was not fully aware of the unpopularity of the income-tax at the time when Sir Richard Temple proposed to re-impose it for an indefinite period, any excuse of the sort was utterly cut away by the revelations that were made in the course of the debate upon the Bill. One by one the representatives of the local Governments—the irresponsible members of the Council, as Colonel Strachey somewhat facetiously designated them—denounced the impost in the strongest language, and implored the Government to pause before renewing so objectionable a tax. Even within the Executive Council itself, one or two traitors were found to lurk, who would have been glad enough to vote for the abolition of the tax, had not their position required them to support the proposals of the Supreme Government. The Commander-in-Chief, indeed, was the only Member of Council who dared to admit that he approved of the measure on principle. Mr. John Strachey contented himself with giving a flat and unqualified denial to Mr. Inglis's allegations of oppression and extortion; and then did his best to stifle information on the subject from official sources by declaring his conviction that any Collector or Commissioner who complained of the working of the tax, afforded the best evidence he could of his own utter incapacity! But Mr. Strachey must be well aware that no amount of able rhetoric on his part will convince people against the evidence of their senses. Oppression and iniquity may surely exist with

out its being reported to Government. But our position is that it has been reported, and that Government is fully aware that all those best capable of forming an opinion on the point, have condemned the income-tax in the strongest terms. If this is not so, why does not Sir Richard Temple publish the replies of the local Governments to the circular of which he spoke? Convicted of misrepresentation as he has been in the account which he publicly gave of those replies, is he afraid that the publication of the papers will damage his case still further?

In his financial statement Sir Richard Temple spoke as follows:—

‘It is noteworthy that on a circular being addressed by us to the several local Governments in India, inquiring whether there were any known cases of oppression or over-exaction, we received replies from all of them (except the Government of Bengal) to the effect that no such cases were known. The Government of Bengal indeed did transmit a *résumé* of some thirteen cases; this number is, of course, a matter for much regret, though relatively it is not large.’

In regard to this statement, Mr. Inglis said:—

‘This hardly gives a correct impression of the purport of the replies made. What was said was that extortion and bribery no doubt prevailed to a lamentable extent, but that no cases had been brought to the notice of Government, and that it was not likely that such cases would be reported, in that a man who had paid to get his name left out of the lists or who had paid to get off threatened surcharge, was not likely to come forward and state publicly what he had done. The Bengal Government, I believe, replied that the cases of oppression which had come to light were numerous, and that *thirteen were sent up as samples for the Government of India to examine.*’

Mr. Strachey may “decline to believe anything so discreditable to the local Governments,” but unfortunately it is none the less true. If he is still of the same mind, he has only to step over to the Board of Revenue, to find hundreds of authenticated cases. Let him in particular ponder over the following, which he may or may not find reported.

Two adjoining districts, not a thousand miles from Calcutta, (we won't mention names; the Collector has doubtless been wiggled for incapacity already) are connected with each other by water-communication, and many of the residents of the one district have business connections with the other. A bright idea therefore seized the assessor of district A, say; and posting his myrmidons on the boundary line, he commenced to tax the owners of every boat that passed it. Now it so happened that in one boat came two brothers who had already paid the tax as a joint family in district B. Of course they were over-hauled like the rest, and each assessed at just double the amount at which the family had

been assessed in district B. They thus paid five times the amount which they ought to have paid, and it was only by accident that the matter came to the notice of the Collector. On enquiry the systematic way in which numbers of unfortunate people had been similarly robbed came to light, and up to date we believe that refunds have had to be made in no less than sixty cases. A pretty number for a single district to add to Sir Richard Temple's thirteen!

It is unnecessary to multiply instances of extortion and oppression. The Government may decline to believe the evidence, but to those who make an ordinary use of their eyes and ears, it is simply overwhelming. Of course all this iniquity has been magnified ten-fold during the past year in consequence of the high rate at which the tax was imposed; but it by no means follows that the irritation will cease with the reduction of the tax. On the contrary, we believe that the natives of the country generally would even prefer to retain the income tax at its excessive rate of $7\frac{1}{2}\%$ in the pound than have another set of assessors with their accompaniments set loose upon them. Yet this is what will take place so soon as the various schemes for provincial taxation are set in motion.

We think, then, that the Government of India has made a grand mistake in retaining the income tax for the present year, and would make a still greater mistake in imposing it for an indefinite period. The tax at best is a most unproductive tax. With all the squeezing that has taken place during the past year, it is estimated that $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ per cent will barely yield two millions. The net realizations for the current year are only put at a trifle over half a million, and it is matter for very grave consideration whether, for the sake of this comparatively small sum, it is worth while to court the discontent, not to say the disaffection, of all classes of the people. Even if the tax were otherwise unobjectionable, the determination to levy it in the face of the opposition which it has caused, is altogether unjustifiable. At the present moment, the retention of the tax seems particularly unwise and impolitic. New forms of local taxation are now being devised, the effect of which must be to draw a large amount of money out of the pockets of the people. The measure is a novel and hazardous experiment, and the difficulties in the way have been increased ten-fold by the action of the Government of India in regard to the income-tax. But this brings us to another part of our subject.

The only new feature in Sir Richard Temple's present budget (if we except the permanent retention of the income-tax) is the scheme of the provincial services which was laid down by the Resolution of 14th December last. This scheme is a most important measure, and deserves serious consideration at the hands of all who are interested in the good government of India. It has been under discussion in the Governor-General's Council for some years,

but it first took a definite form in August last, when the Government of India proposed to raise a million sterling per annum by provincial taxation. This proposal was afterwards modified, but the only papers on the subject which the Government has as yet had the courage to publish, are those relating to the North West Government. Some of the correspondence will probably never be published except "by order of the House of Commons"; meanwhile we may be permitted to ask,—Can a Government which discountenances the expression of public opinion, and advisedly keeps back or ignores the deliberate sentiments of those who are opposed to its own pre-conceived views, expect to retain either the confidence or the respect of its subjects?*

It is impossible to deny that a wise scheme of decentralization, judiciously planned and honestly carried out, has long been one of the most urgent requirements of this country. It was advocated on financial grounds so far back as 1861, when Mr. Laing proposed a scheme of local funds for the construction and repair of public works. But such a scheme is even more urgently needed for the improvement of the administration and the future good government of this vast empire. In point of fact, it is just because, and so far as, the present scheme has subordinated the more general argument to financial considerations, that it has, in our opinion, failed to command a consummate success. For the present scheme exhibits internal evidence of being but a patchwork piece of statesmanship. There are traces in it of different hands and to some extent of conflicting views. It is clearly not the product of one master mind. It seems to us that a grand and noble idea has been appropriated as an expedient for reducing expenditure in what Sir Richard Temple chooses to call a financial crisis, and for shifting upon the local administrations the burden of fresh taxation. For, whatever the members of the Government of India may now say to the contrary, the main object of the present scheme is to afford relief to the imperial exchequer. The Resolution itself says "that the relief of the imperial finances has been a principal object in the discussion of the measure." Indeed, had not

* Some of our readers may recollect a controversy which was being carried on a few weeks ago, between the *Indian Daily News* and the *Englishman* (which is believed to be in some respects an inspired journal) as to the existence of a certain minute written by Sir William Grey in September or October last, in which he is generally believed to have recorded a very strong opinion of the unsuitability of direct taxation

to this country. The correspondence with the North-West, published in the Supplement to the *Gazette of India* for the 11th March 1871, implies that similar communications were addressed to and received from the Bengal Government. Are the views therein expressed so hostile and damaging to the action of the Financial Department, that the Government of India has prohibited their publication?

the late financial difficulties of the Government pressed the matter upon its attention, it may well be doubted whether the decentralization scheme would not have been allowed to lie upon the shelf for ten years longer. When first brought forward in August last, it is well known that the Government proposed to throw expenditure amounting to one million sterling upon the local administrations; and it was probably in consequence of the subsequent rise in the price of opium rather than in deference to the remonstrances of the subordinate Governments, that this large amount was subsequently reduced by two-thirds.

The fact remains that local taxation is still necessary; and so long as this is the case, it is an insult to common sense to deny that the scheme has for its object more or less the substitution of local, or rather provincial, for imperial taxation. Mr. John Strachey objects to the measure being called a measure for the decentralization of the finances, and he denies that "the result of the measure will be to throw upon the local instead of upon the imperial Government, the obligation of raising, by unpopular taxation, the funds necessary for carrying out on an extravagant scale all sorts of improvements." He announces the discovery that, although the local administrations have nominally been called upon to make good an expenditure of some £350,000, yet that this expenditure only exists on paper, and will not really be required. Mr. Strachey's ability is indisputable, but this attempt to throw dust into the eyes of the public was hardly worthy of his usual *finesse*. Indeed, with one of these very Local Rates Bills in his hand, he seems to have felt that he was treading on slippery ground. But a plausible explanation never fails Mr. Strachey. The local rates were for future improvements; "it was thought right to give to those local Governments in this Presidency which have no Legislatures of their own, power to supplement, to a moderate extent, their existing local funds by fresh moderate taxation." The truth is, however, that provincial taxation will be required everywhere, and for most provinces the necessary preliminaries have already been set in motion.

Lord Mayo took a more straightforward, if not a more justifiable, view of the case. He admitted that provincial taxation would be necessary, but he attempted to justify it by contrasting the amount with that the people, rightly or wrongly, were made to pay last year under an income tax of $7\frac{1}{2}d.$ in the pound. We admire Lord Mayo's frankness in these days of shuffling and equivocation; when men seem to delight to make the worse appear the better reason. But unfortunately the Viceroy's explanation runs somewhat counter to Mr. Strachey's. Neither is it altogether satisfactory. Lord Mayo says, that the whole policy of the Government, since he has been connected with it, has been the speedy

decrease, and not the *increase* of taxation, but the way in which he demonstrates his position, is, curiously enough, by alleging that the amount which has to be raised by local taxation in each province will not be as much as the income tax of 5*d.* in the pound, *which was only imposed last year as an emergency* and which is now to be remitted ! It is to be observed, too, that Lord Mayo takes credit for the grant of £200,000, as though it were a permanent increase, whereas there is no reason whatever to suppose that it will be continued beyond the current year.

Viewed in its true character, therefore, the provincial services scheme will, and was intended to, substitute provincial for imperial taxation ; and we see nothing particularly objectionable in this view of the measure, had it only been stated openly and in a straightforward manner. It may of course be argued that one tax is preferable to two, costing less to collect, and affording fewer opportunities for oppression and injustice. But on the other hand there is undoubtedly as great a need for decentralization in the method of collecting many of our taxes as in the expenditure of their proceeds. Too strict a uniformity in the method of raising money throughout India may be as impolitic as too strict a uniformity in the details of our administration.

The present scheme for decentralization may be briefly described as follows. The financial control over certain departments—to wit, jails, registration, police, education, medical services, printing, roads other than military, and civil buildings—is made over to the local Governments henceforth in perpetuity subject to certain general rules prescribed by the Government of India. With this control are transferred all the receipts of these departments, and a certain definite sum on account of their expenditure. The total of these sums falls short of the estimated expenditure for 1870-71 by £350,000, or about six per cent of the whole. This sum the provincial governments (Burmah excepted) have to make good, as well as all future increase of expenditure.

It has been objected to this scheme that it proceeds upon the basis of a starved year, *viz.*, that of 1870-71, when, in consequence of the financial crisis, all expenditure had been reduced to a minimum, and retrenchment was the order of the day. The real meaning of this objection is that either the reductions then ordered must now be considered to be stereotyped, or the amount of taxation thrown upon the local Governments is greater than appears at first sight. The former result, supposing it to be possible, cannot be other than a source of satisfaction to the tax-paying public. But unfortunately those departments which have been made over to the local administrations, are just those in which a natural growth is unavoidable ; and the fact that this growth has been checked for the past two years to meet a temporary emer-

Agency, is no argument for assuming that the cost of these departments can be maintained for ever at its present figure. The charge for public works has been actually reduced to what it was some nine years ago. The conclusion is irresistible that the sum which the Financial Department delights to represent as the provincial contribution to the grant, by no means represents the total amounts which the Local Governments will have to provide, unless the administration of these departments is to stand still. At the same time there is reason to think that when local governments are compelled to provide the ways and means for the improvements they suggest, instead of simply drawing upon an inexhaustible purse, a much greater regard will be paid both to efficiency and to economy. It is pretty generally believed that great reductions may still be effected in several departments, and if the present measure forces the subject upon the attention of the authorities, the public will have reason to thank the Financial Department for putting on the screw.

A more legitimate objection, perhaps, is that so short an interval has been allowed to the minor administrations for the consideration and preparation of suitable schemes of local taxation. In December 1870 the local Governments are told that henceforth their assignments for certain services will be fixed at £350,000 below their present cost, and that this sum, together with the expense of all future improvements must be provided out of provincial funds—the arrangement taking effect from the 1st April 1871. The Government of India seems to have felt that there was some injustice in this arrangement, and Sir Richard Temple, out of the fullness of his heart and the public purse, has granted an additional assignment of £200,000, the effect of which will be to mitigate the extent of provincial taxation, or to postpone its operation for six months. If a scheme of provincial taxation was to be set on foot at all, the Government of India could not well have done more than this.

The most serious drawback, in our opinion, to the provincial services scheme is the uncertainty and want of finality which attends its provisions. We have already said that, when first proposed, the local Governments were expected to contribute no less than one million sterling. As the prospects of the year brightened, the amount was reduced to £350,000; which sum, again, for the current year, has in consequence of the surplus been further reduced by £200,000. But the question remains, whether, in the event of another financial crisis two or three years hence, this enforced local contribution may not suddenly be increased to an enormous extent. Should opium, for instance, fail to realize the budget estimate in 1872-73, what guarantee have we that Sir Richard Temple will not reduce the assignment for

provincial services by a million in 1873-74? Paragraph 17 of the Resolution distinctly intimates that the assignment will be reduced in such a case.

Subject to these exceptions, the decentralization scheme appears to us to hold out very great promise of improvement in the administration of the country. The double system of Government which has been carried on hitherto, was rapidly becoming intolerable. Not the smallest reform in any department could be carried out without the approval of the Financial Department; while the delay in procuring sanction to the most urgent proposals was often simply heart-rending. The command of the purse, again, gave the Government of India a supposed right to interfere in the most petty details, by which, so far from effecting any good, it only excited a spirit of disgust and ill-feeling on the part of the subordinate administrations. The Government of India has itself at last acknowledged the fact that it is unable, from want of sufficient special and local knowledge, to control the administrative details of the various provinces of this vast empire. The sole effect of the attempt to do so was an undue amount of uniformity. The varying wants and circumstances of different provinces were not taken into account, because they were unknown and unappreciated. The whole country was to be ruled on one standard plan—a plan generally inapplicable to some province or other, sometimes applicable to none. But it is unnecessary to dilate upon the evils of this state of things; the Government confess themselves aware of their existence, and we can only trust that they will not lose sight of them until the present reform is carried very much farther than is now proposed.

For the present scheme will undoubtedly remedy these evils so far as those departments which it embraces are concerned. In the first place we may expect to see a greater amount of vigour instilled into the local Governments themselves. The unlimited power of control, as it carries with it greater responsibility, will also develope higher administrative ability. The working of these selected departments will be submitted to a scrutiny which they have never undergone before; and, while economy is insisted on, efficiency will be no less promoted. This improved control cannot but re-act upon the *personnel* of the departments, in every grade of whom we may fairly expect to see an increase of zeal and energy.

In the foregoing remarks we have carefully avoided calling the present scheme a scheme of *local* taxation, because we do not believe it to be anything of the kind. Local taxation, as we understand the term, means a self-imposed taxation within a limited area, the proceeds of which are administered by the representatives of the tax-payers, and devoted to objects in which

they are peculiarly interested. Now the provincial taxation which the Government of India has in view, is not local taxation in any sense, except that it may vary in different provinces and that the proceeds of one province will not be spent in another. But when we consider that these provinces are about the size of France, Germany, and other countries of Europe, the impropriety of the term *local* will be apparent. If we can suppose the whole of Europe administered by one central authority—the most Christian Emperor of Germany say—and that his righteous minister Bismarck had just allowed England, France and Russia, to raise taxes for the construction of whatever public works they respectively required, we may realize to some extent the meaning of the present measure. It is of course to be hoped that local taxation will follow in due time; the local Governments are now directly interested in encouraging the growth of the principle of self-government. But to confound the provincial services scheme with a measure of local taxation, would be to make a great and unpardonable mistake.

The next point to which we must advert in regard to Sir Richard Temple's budget, is the present swollen state of the cash balances. And first we will state the facts. Sir Richard Temple began the year 1870-71 with cash balances amounting to 14 millions sterling. Throughout the year they have been very high—"higher than they have been for some eight years past." "This circumstance," Sir Richard Temple thinks, "is to some extent satisfactory and calculated to raise confidence in our finance." It is expected that the year will close with a balance of 16 millions, or six millions in excess of the sum which has usually been considered to be necessary. This is exclusive of a balance of two millions in the hands of the Secretary of State.

Sir Richard Temple has been questioned on several occasions as to the necessity for retaining such large cash balances, and his reasons, such as they are, are given in his rejoinder in the debate on the Income Tax Bill, and in his reply to the representation of the British Indian Association. In the former, he states that a large portion of the money belongs to the Public Works and Railway Departments, "for the payment of which, sooner or later, we are liable." "Besides these manifest liabilities, any broad view of all the circumstances of our finance would show that we have many contingent liabilities"; the Secretary of State borrows in England to avoid loss by exchange; the amount of the balances are certainly higher than they used to be in former years, but not relatively to our growing expenditure; in fine, Sir Richard Temple "assures the Council that the present amount of cash balances is not otherwise than satisfactory." The British Indian Association is simply informed that the cash balances represent trust funds amounting to 21½ millions, and that "the matter receives constant attention."

Now, we cannot help saying that these reasons are not only insufficient in themselves, but the fact of his advancing them would seem to show that Sir Richard Temple does not understand the use and object of a cash balance. To argue that because the money is in trust, it is to be kept lying idle in the State coffers, is the same thing (as the *Observer* pointed out) as to say that an Insurance Company should keep all its paid-up premiums locked up in its coffers. Such a company, however, would probably prefer to invest the bulk of the money to the best advantage, keeping only such a sum in reserve as should suffice for current requirements. This is also the policy which most financiers would adopt with regard to the balances of the Exchequer. But what is Sir Richard Temple's course? He begins the year, as we have seen, with a cash balance of 16 millions, and estimates that he will have upwards of 15 millions at its close. He says, he regards a large cash balance as a satisfactory feature in our finance. This was not, however, the opinion of Mr. Massey, nor of any of his predecessors. In his statement for 1866-67 Mr. Massey spoke as follows:—

‘Owing to the peculiarity of our administration, the public monies, instead of being collected in two or three depositories, are diffused through a great number of Treasuries and Collectorates scattered through the country; and the consequence is, that a far greater amount of money is required to be kept in reserve for the public service than would be necessary under a concentrated system. As the country is opened up by railroads, we shall be able to dispense with many minor treasuries, and in proportion as they disappear we shall be able to work the Government with diminished balances. *At present we require about ten millions; all that we have beyond this amount is available for other purposes.*’

Now, what the public want to know, is why Sir Richard Temple requires five or six millions more to work with than Mr. Massey did, more particularly in the face of Mr. Massey's statement that the amount ought to be susceptible of reduction year by year? It is an important question, involving as it does some quarter of a million per annum, and it seems to us that the public is entitled to a rational explanation.

Sir Richard Temple explains that a portion of the accumulated cash balances is to be attributed to the fact that the Secretary of State raised money in England to prevent the loss by exchange in drawing bills upon India. There was, doubtless, wisdom in this proceeding. The loss by exchange has averaged 6.67 per cent during the past year, and the Secretary of State had no difficulty in borrowing at 5 per cent. So far so good. But to an ordinary individual, uninitiated in the mysteries of Indian finance, it does seem curious that, although so much the less money was required in India to meet the Secretary of State's bills, it should,

nevertheless, have been kept idle in the State coffers, awaiting a contingency which could not possibly arise, instead of being applied to redemption of debt. It will be borne in mind that we are only discussing the question on Sir Richard Temple's own ground, that "the loans raised by the Secretary of State represent so much less of drawings, and that this difference saves us expense more or less." Common sense seems to suggest that for every million so borrowed in England a million of debt should have been cancelled in India. But, so far from this, we would seem to have been borrowing more money here.

And how does the case stand now? The balance in hand on account of Public Works Extraordinary at the end of 1870-71 is estimated to be $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions, and the Secretary of State proposes to borrow as much more during the ensuing year, making a total of five millions, of which Sir Richard Temple does not believe that $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions will be expended. Why the difference of one million and-a-half should be borrowed at all, Sir Richard Temple does not condescend to explain.

Perhaps the most melancholy feature in the late discussions on the Budget has been the pitiful attempts which certain of the members of the Government have made to juggle the public by misrepresentation. It is always the sign of a bad cause when a defence is set up which will not bear investigation. And such a process is attended with worse consequences than the mere failure of the attempt, when the actors in it are the members of an irresponsible Government. What the public ask, is to be taken into the confidence of the Government in regard to its financial policy. The Government pretend to comply with this desire, and then proceed either to mystify matters as much as possible, or else to exhibit them in a false light. The result is, that the public, naturally enough, conclude that there is either a want of intellectual capacity or of moral honesty. We have already exposed the hollowness of the arguments by which the Government of India has endeavoured to prove its justice and liberality in regard to the provincial services scheme. It is impossible to understand how that Government can ever have imagined that the public would be deceived by those arguments, specious as they were. A similar instance of misrepresentation was afforded by Colonel Strachey in regard to the public works expenditure. We refer to it in this place in order to show that the most confidential statements of the Government must be received with caution. The gross fallacy that underlies Colonel Strachey's whole argument is so palpable that even Sir Richard Temple found it necessary to anticipate the Opposition in exposing it.

Colonel Strachey complains that the department of Public Works has always been made the scape-goat on which the obloquy of the Indian deficit is thrown. The charge, he says, is as

unjust as it is untrue. And he proceeds to defend his position by contrasting the Public Works expenditure in the years 1861-62 and 1870-71. In the former year the Public Works charges, including guaranteed interest on Railways, amounted to £6,180,000; in 1870-71 they aggregated £6,039,000, showing a decrease of £181,000. There are two fallacies in this argument. *First*, the decrease is only arrived at by taking account of the *net* guaranteed interest, and Colonel Strachey's reasons for so doing are not to our mind conclusive; and *secondly*, the year which Colonel Strachey has selected for the purpose of his comparison is the very year in which those great reductions were made for which the public called so loudly. The public do not complain of the Public Works charges *now*; they complained of them as they stood two years ago. Since then reductions to the extent of 2½ millions have been made—reductions for which, had they been made more gradually and with greater circumspection Colonel Strachey would fairly have earned the gratitude of the people of India. But to contrast the result after these reductions with the expenditure nine years ago, in order to show that the public were wrong in singling out Public Works as the great spending department, is so obvious a fallacy that no school-boy would have been guilty of it. The fact that reductions to so great an extent have been found possible in the Public Works Department, is rather a proof that the public were right. Colonel Strachey seems indeed to detect the flaw in his own argument, but the manner in which he tries to patch it up, is even more illogical than his original position.

‘In order that the Council should properly understand the exact position of the Public Works expenditure, it was right that he should state that the year in which the outlay for Public Works was the greatest was 1868-69—a year to which he had *not* before referred—in which it was £8,281,000, or two and a half millions in excess of the sums which he had taken in his comparison. But it would be remarked that the total outlay of the country in that year was also two and a half millions in excess of the total of the years to which he had referred. The consequence was that if in 1868-69 the Public Works expenditure had been reduced to what it was in 1870-71, the total expenditure would still have been upwards of 50 millions, and still six millions in excess of 1861-62, and *therefore the unusual public works expenditure of that year had nothing whatever to do with that general excess of charge*. The absolute deficit in 1868-69 was £2,774,000, and there would still remain a deficit of half a million, if the extra outlay of two and a half millions had not taken place.’

In other words, A ought not to be flogged for stealing the apples, because B also helped to steal them! Of course after this, Sir Richard Temple was obliged to interfere.

The expenditure of 1870-71 exceeds that of 1868-69 by about

six millions ; the increase of revenue is seven millions. In both years the income-tax yielded about two millions, so that, (if we take the regular estimate for 1870-71 for our basis) exclusive of the income-tax, our revenue falls short of our expenditure by a million sterling. Of this deficit, one-third is now thrown upon the local Governments, who are to provide for it by provincial taxation ; the other two-thirds are to be made good by a permanent income-tax.

In the foregoing pages we have spoken somewhat freely. We have not hesitated to condemn the action of the Government in proposing to retain the income-tax in the face of the experience which it has had of its unsuitableness to and unpopularity in India. We have endeavoured to expose the short-sighted policy which would seek to conceal or mitigate the true effect of the provincial services scheme. We have expressed a belief that the Financial Department—never strong at any time—in just now particularly weak. But for all this, we must not be understood to agree with those who would have us believe that the Government of India is utterly unscrupulous and deficient in ability. There is no doubt whatever that Lord Mayo's Government contains men of very eminent talents, and that they are one and all desirous of doing what they believe to be the best for the country. Fettered in many ways by Home interference, they are not to be judged altogether as free agents. What we complain of, is, that they do not endeavour to bring themselves sufficiently *en rapport* with the people they represent. They are at once too regardless and too impatient of criticism from without. They are confident in their own superior wisdom, and when it is brought in question, they lose their temper and decline to exhibit the proofs on which they imagine its superiority to rest. As a whole, however, their administration has little to fear from the Parliamentary enquiry which is about to be undertaken. Meanwhile, their task is not yet closed. The fact is indisputable that large reductions are still feasible, more especially in those departments which are directly subordinate to the Government of India. The Government must also set their face as a flint against any increase of expenditure ; if they can do this, the gradual expansion of the revenue will soon make good the small deficit which still remains to be liquidated by direct taxation. But if they have not the courage and the power to do this, then their task is to devise some means of indirect taxation, which shall be more acceptable to the people than the present income-tax. The only remedy for the present state of things lies in one of these three methods—further reduction of expenditure, stoppage of its growth, or new measures of indirect taxation ; and according to the manner in which the Government apply the remedy, will be the measure of success which the public are prepared to award them.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

"THE LAND OF CHARITY"—*A descriptive account of Travancore and its people, with especial reference to Missionary labour.*
By the Rev. SAMUEL MATEER, F.L.S., of the London Missionary Society. London: John Snow & Co. 1871.

THERE is probably no body of men to whom Anglo-Indian literature is more indebted than to Christian missionaries. Some of the best works on the manners, customs and languages of the natives have emanated from their quiet studies. Ward, Marshman, the Abbé Dubois, Caldwell, and others amongst their number, are standard authorities in every Indian library. The writings of such men have a peculiar value from the circumstance that, in what Mr. Mateer calls their 'vernacular labours,' they are brought into close contact with the people of the country, and thus have special opportunities for observing whatever is remarkable in their social and domestic habits.

The book before us is one of this class. We object to its title, which is evidently intended to be effective, but which is unfortunately as inaccurate as it is unmeaning. *Dharmma Bhumi* does not mean the land of *charity*—a word peculiar to Christianity, and only so far applicable to Travancore as that country has been the scene of the most self-denying exertions of Christian missionaries. The term *dharmma* may be translated *piety*, but it is a piety which we are apt to regard as synonymous with bigotry, priestcraft and superstition. 'The Land of Charity,' however, is altogether a misnomer; Travancore will only be rightly so denominated when the people have cast aside Brahmanism and devil-worship, and embraced the 'new commandment' of Christ, and learned to attain the 'more excellent way.' Mr. Mateer, however, has written a most interesting book, and we have much pleasure in recommending it to the attention of our readers. It is a sad fact, but no less true, that we here in Bengal know very little about the south of India. Mr. Mateer's book will supply the defect as far as one little State is concerned. A perusal of its 370 pages will afford the reader a very good general idea of Travancore, its natural and political history, and the manners, customs and religious of its inhabitants.

The poetic appellation of *Dharmma Bhumi* bestowed on Travancore by the Brahman priests, is not altogether inappropriate even at the present day. Though not quite as large as Wales, the country offers perhaps as great a variety of forms

of religion as any in the world—all of them, moreover, of a striking type. Like the men of Athens of old, the people of Travancore would seem to be in all things very superstitious. The State religion is the worship of Vishnu under the name of Patmanábhān, and absorbs no less than one-fifth of the revenue of the country. But more prevalent, perhaps, among the lower orders of the people, is that curious system of devil-worship which we find in Southern India and Ceylon, and which is the most marked form of that timid superstition which is satisfied with the propitiation of whatever is thought capable of doing the worshipper harm. Intercourse with the Red Sea and Arabia, again, has introduced small colonies of Musalman Lubbays, who seem to be very similar in many respects to the Muhammadans of Chittagong. And, owing their origin probably to the same cause, nestling among rival religions of the most incongruous types, yet suffering less persecution from the heathen than from a Church which calls itself both Christian and Catholic, lie those interesting communities of Syrian Christians, which are by some supposed to date from the age of the apostle St. Thomas. Lastly, Travancore is one of those few places in which the labours of Christian missionaries have met with almost a miraculous success. The Protestant communities are already said to number 44,000 souls, a figure in excess of the whole number of Brahmans as ascertained at the census of 1854.

Mr. Mateer confines the history of the London Mission in Travancore to the last hundred pages of his book, and the narrative is mainly interesting for the details it gives of the persecutions to which the Christian people have from time to time been exposed at the hands of the heathen. Such persecutions are as old as the time of St. Paul, and there is nothing to surprise us in their occurrence in India, more especially in a native State. Every convert, indeed, must expect to undergo persecution in some form or other. The curious part of the affair is, that these so-called persecutions always manage to connect themselves with any little weakness there may be in the joints of the social system. In Chota Nagpore it was the land tenures which somehow or other got mixed up in people's minds with oppression of the new converts. In Travancore the persecution seems to have arisen out of the peculiar harshness of the rules of caste.

The Hindu community in Travancore is divided into four great classes: (1) the Brahmans, who seem to be as influential little Popes as elsewhere; (2) the Sudras or Nairs, who constitute the middle classes of the population; (3) the Ilavars, Shánárs, &c., or low castes; and (4) the Pariahs and Pulayars, or slaves. There are two classes of Brahmans—the Nambúris or indigenous, and the foreign Brahmans. The former have a peculiar custom, unde

which, with the view of keeping down their numbers, the eldest son only in the family is allowed to marry. It would appear, however, that those who are debarred from a legitimate union, have no difficulty or scruple in forming temporary connections with Nair women. The Namburis consider it derogatory to live under the sway of a Sudra king, so that those who are found in Travancore are neither numerous nor of the purest blood. The Sudras or Nairs occupy a much higher position in southern than in northern India, partly owing to their numbers and influence, and partly from the fact that there are so many classes beneath them. Their peculiar customs in regard to marriage have long been a subject of interest to Europeans. A Nair woman lives in her brother's house, where she receives the visits of one (or more) husbands. The connection is not a permanent one, but may be dissolved at the option of either party. The woman's children are heirs, not to their father, but to their uncle, who is also their legal guardian. Similar customs obtain amongst the Ilavars and Shanars, from whom the great majority of Christian converts have been drawn. Mr. Mateer says that the rule of inheritance among them is, that ancestral property goes to the nephews by the female line, while self-acquired wealth may be divided between them and the sons.

Most tyrannical rules of caste obtain in regard to the two lowest classes who constitute one-half of the entire Hindu population. One among many of these social laws which served to mark their degradation, forbade any woman below the rank of a Sudra to wear any clothing whatever above the waist.

'But the truer and better instincts of humanity had been aroused by Christianity, and the Christian females were accustomed and taught to wear a kind of plain loose jacket with short sleeves, devised by one of the missionary ladies. This of itself was displeasing to the Sudra aristocracy. And, in addition to the jacket (which is not worn by the Sudra females), some of the Christian women, without the consent of the missionaries, and even in several instances in opposition to their advice, had taken the liberty of wearing an additional cloth or scarf laid over the shoulder, called the "upper cloth," as worn by the Sudra women, and this the latter interpreted as an infringement of their peculiar and exclusive privilege. On the whole, then, it was determined that by some means, or by any means, a stop must be put to the progress of Christianity and to the spread of the reforms and innovations already in progress and impending.'

This was the spark which set the hostile passions of the natives in a blaze. The persecution first broke out in 1827; and its fires smouldered with occasional outbursts of fury till 1858, when various causes combined to incite the upper classes to make common cause against the progress of Christianity. It will be observed that in the extract we have quoted above, Mr. Mateer admits

that the converts were not altogether free from blame. But it would be ridiculous to lay much stress on this circumstance. The conflict between the powers of darkness and the powers of light must have occurred sooner or later. Progress and conservatism are naturally antagonistic; and, all the world over, the civilizing and enlightening influences of Christianity have always excited the rage and hostility of a decaying superstition and a falling priesthood. The only wise policy for a Government to adopt in such a case is that which is pursued by the British Government of allowing free liberty of speech and action, while itself preserving a strict neutrality in all social and religious matters. Unfortunately this was not the course adopted by the bigoted rulers of Travancore. Even now the Shanar women are only permitted to wear a coarse cloth tied horizontally across the bosom, like that worn by Manipuri women; and this scant instalment of justice was only meted out on the receipt of the following strong remonstrance from Sir Charles Trevelyan, then Governor of Madras:—

‘I have seldom met with a case in which not only truth and justice, but every feeling of our common humanity are so entirely on one side. The whole civilized world would cry shame upon us, if we did not make a firm stand on such an occasion. If anything could make this line of conduct more incumbent on us, it would be the extraordinary fact that persecution of a singularly personal and delicate kind is attempted to be justified by a royal proclamation, the special object of which was to assure to Her Majesty’s Indian subjects liberty of thought and action, so long as they did not interfere with the just rights of others. I should fail in respect to Her Majesty, if I attempted to describe the feelings with which she must regard the use made against her own sex of the promises of protection so graciously accorded by her.’

We are glad to see from the above, as well as from a note on page 319, that the Madras authorities are doing their best to instil principles of equality and liberality into the system of government, and so to prevent (if possible) those popular outbreaks, which must always be imminent, so long as such arbitrary and tyrannical rules are allowed to place restrictions on the social independence of the people. It has been frequently observed, and Mr. Mateer himself admits the fact, that Travancore is one of the best governed native States in India. The Dewan, Sir Mādhava Row, K.S.I., was educated at the Madras University, and has raised himself to his present position solely by his eminent talents and and political sagacity.

‘Notwithstanding all that has been accomplished, however, very much yet remains to be effected in the improvement of legislation and the extension of freedom to all classes of the population. Large and liberal measures are still imperatively required for the benefit of the oppressed and down-trodden low castes. These are not, it should

be remembered, in every instance, necessarily poor or destitute of capacity and moral character, in proportion to their position in the arbitrary scale of caste. The masses of the low caste population have been as yet but slightly touched by the partial reforms of the Travancore Government. They ought, for instance, to have a fair share in the scheme of Government education, from which they are at present excluded solely on account of caste. Children of low caste are refused admittance into nearly all the Government English and Vernacular schools, yet these contribute their fair quota to the public funds, which are wasted on Brahmanical rites or expended almost exclusively on the education of the higher castes. Although permission to cover the upper part of the person has been given to the lower castes, they are still by law restricted to the use of *coarse* cloths, to the manifest detriment of the national commerce and manufactures. Any advance, too, in the use of richer ornaments, palankeens, and other luxuries, on the part of wealthy members of these castes, is strictly prohibited. The public roads, also, ought to be opened freely to all classes, and admission to all the Courts conceded to even the lowest and most despised of the population. * * * In short, the half a million low caste people, constituting no less than one-third of the whole population, should be educated, enfranchised, invested with the rights of citizenship, and admitted to the enjoyment of the natural and indefeasible rights and liberties which belong to every member of the great human family.

The Raja of Travancore, as we have already remarked, belongs to the Sudra caste, but by a ceremony called the *Hiranya garbham*, or Golden Birth, he can be translated from his own class, and raised to the position and dignity of a Brahman. "The new birth of the Raja must be either from a golden cow or a lotus flower.* Formerly the form of the sacred cow was made of gold with a hollow body, through which the Raja crept, and was then regarded as twice-born and holy." The late Raja, however, was born from a golden lotus, the gold used being equal to the Raja's own weight, to the value of £6,000. Of course, this gold, as well as all the rich ornaments worn by the Raja on the occasion, had to be given to the priests. The present Raja has already been weighed at a cost of Rs. 1,60,000, but the ceremony of regeneration has still to be performed before his coronation, and will in all probability cost as much more.

Mr. Mateer's book is full of interesting information on all sorts of subjects connected with the people and their customs, or the natural products of Travancore. In connection with the subject of snakes, our author has the following:—

'The serpent is very generally an object of worship to Hindus, especially on the Western coast. Many stone images of the cobra are found in temples and sacred localities. * * The national deity,

* Sacred to Vishnu, the national deity of Travancore.

too, is supposed to recline "on a great five-headed serpent. A large brazen-gilt image of the serpent is worshipped at Nâgercoil (Snake-temple), and carried out in procession, like other idols, once a year. Brahmans sometimes worship silver representations of Vishnu trampling a serpent under his feet. The cobra is called "nalla pambu," "the good snake,"—certainly on the principle that it is dreaded and must be propitiated and pacified by gentle words and acts of worship. The account of the origin of this worship given in the "Kerala Ulpatti," is to the effect that in early ages serpents increasing to an insufferable degree, killed many of the people. The surviving inhabitants refused to reside longer in so dangerous a country. Parasu-kâmen, therefore, allotted certain localities in which these reptiles should be placed, and receive offerings and sacrifices. This being done, the serpents were appeased, and ceased to torment the people.

Serpents are now worshipped chiefly by Sudras, Brahmans officiating as their priests. When Sudras observe a snake, they catch it by a cord with a noose tied to the end of a long rod, place it carefully in an earthen pot, and bring it to the place of worship; should they find others killing these sacred reptiles, they earnestly beg for their protection, or lavish abuse on the persons who have committed the sacrilegious act. Offerings of fruits, cakes, flour, milk, rice, &c., are made to the snake god.

No doubt the worship of serpents is similar in principle and is closely connected with the demon-worship of South India. Amongst the Hindus, everything that is specially remarkable, either for good or evil, becomes the object of religious veneration.'

Dr. Inman, whose little work on Symbolism we reviewed in our last number, would probably have something to say on this subject, as well as in regard to the symbols exhibited on the copper kâsu (or cash) engraved on page 110. "On the obverse of this coin is a figure said to represent the god Krishna; on the reverse, a curious geometrical figure composed of two triangles, to which some notion of sacredness or good luck appears to attach." We are of opinion that Dr. Inman might find much in support of his curious theories in the little kingdom of Travancore.

LA LANGUE ET LA LITTÉRATURE HINDOUSTANIES EN 1870.—*Revue Annuelle* par M. GARCIN DE TASSY, Membre de l'Institut de France, Professeur à l'École Spéciale des Langues Orientales vivantes, etc. Paris. 1871.

M. GARCIN DE TASSY'S annual survey of Hindustani literature has this year been issued under melancholy circumstances. The wonder is that it has been issued at all. We must confess to some little surprise when first it reached us at the beginning of February last, pre-paid with veritable postage stamps of the French Republic. But, though professing to be

M. Garcin de Tassy's Annual Review. xxxvii

published in Paris, it has been printed, we see, at Caen, and we may, therefore, conclude that the worthy Professor is safe, having doubtless chosen the better part of valour.

As a *résumé* of the literary events of the year 1870, the discourse before us is as interesting as usual. It treats (1) of general matters of interest in the world of letters which M. de Tassy represents; (2) of the controversy which is being waged between the supporters of Urdu and the advocates of Hindi; (3) of the additions to Hindustani literature; (4) of the vernacular journalistic press; (5) of the progress of public instruction in India; and, lastly, of the diffusion of Christianity. There is very little under any of these headings that will be new to his readers in this country; but we cannot withhold our admiration of the very complete manner in which these annual reviews are drawn up, and our sense of their great value and interest to European *savans*.

M. de Tassy speaks of the activity of the Mogul Serai Society (one of whose most intelligent members we scarcely recognized in the Professor's *Bābī Ambika Charan Chitar Jī*) in the direction of widow-marriage. In connection with this subject, it would be very interesting to know to what extent the practice of marrying a deceased husband's brother still exists, as stated by the Professor, among the lowest classes of Hindus.

M. de Tassy's estimate of the effects of Western civilization upon the institution of caste is perhaps a little too sanguine, as may be expected from one who is compelled to form his opinions upon what he hears and reads rather than on what he sees. But the Professor forgets that it is everywhere more difficult to act than to talk, and the natives of India are no exception to this rule. An estimate of the people, framed upon the big words we hear in literary and other debating societies, must necessarily, we fear, be very far wide of the truth.

We are also of opinion that the Professor exaggerates the latent animosity, which, as he asserts, exists between the Musalmans and Hindus. He says, "It is hatred of the Musalman yoke which has so long weighed upon the Hindus, that sets them against Urdu." And in another place:—

'Nous retrouvons donc ici encore l'antagonisme de l'urdu et de l'hindî dans l'antagonisme du savant musulman et du savant hindou, qui ne manque pas de répéter la phrase obligée, qu'on dirait stéréotypée, contre "la tyrannie musulmane sous laquelle les Hindous ont gémi pendant huit cent ans," et qui traite de barbare Mahmūd le Ghaznévide pour d'autres raisons, je suppose, quo parce qu'il renversa à Somnāth l'impure idole du lingam.'

There is a touch of incredulous sarcasm, however, in M. de Tassy's assertion that, compared with the Musalman yoke, the Hindus consider the British administration to be perfect.

The Professor treats us to some quaint extracts from the Hindustani papers. One from a Bombay paper on the matrimonial preferences of the fair sex in the various countries of Europe is amusing, though not very complimentary to our American neighbours. Another from the *Nūr ul Absār* of Agra

‘attribue les victoires des Allemandes sur les Français à ce qu’ils lisent l’Ecriture sainte, où ils ont trouvé un sortilège emprunté aux védas, dans lesquels le roi Guillaume aurait bien mieux fait, selon le journaliste hindou, d’aller le chercher tout d’abord.’

It is a new idea to connect the piety of the most Christian Emperor with Sanskritic studies in Germany. In the next war of aggression, the writer doubtless expects to see Professor Lassen admitted as a third satellite with Bismarck and Von Moltke in attendance on His Majesty.

THE ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY OF INDIA.—*The Buddhist Period, including the campaigns of Alexander and the travels of Hwen-Thsang.* By ALEXANDER CUNNINGHAM, Major-General, Royal Engineers. With thirteen Maps. London: Trübner and Co. 1871.

NO work from General Cunningham’s pen needs elaborate introduction to the public in India. On the contrary, many people will think that the apologetic tone in which the author writes towards the close of his preface is hardly necessary. During a long service of more than thirty years in India, General Cunningham tells us, its early history and geography formed the chief study of his leisure hours; and he has certainly not over-stated the signal services which he has rendered to those branches of science during the four years that he was employed by the Government of India as Archaeological Surveyor. The intimation that he has again been invited by Government to supervise the archaeological researches that are being conducted in this country, has been received with peculiar gratification. It is felt that for once at least, the right man is in the right place. It was quite needless, therefore, for General Cunningham to explain why he comes forward as the exponent of ancient Indian geography. It is rather the critic who ought to show cause for venturing to discuss the opinions of so eminent an authority. This we are not yet prepared to do; and therefore, while expressing our intention to return to the subject at an early date, we shall content ourselves on the present occasion with giving our readers some general idea of General Cunningham’s work.

The General divides the geography of India into three periods—(1) The *Brahmanical* or Vedic, (2) the *Buddhist*, and (3) the *Muhammadan*; and he defines the Buddhist period (which is

Cunningham's *Ancient Geography*. xxxix

his present subject) as extending "from there of Buddha to the conquests of Mahmud of Ghazni, during the greater part of which time Buddhism was the dominant religion of the country." The chief guides in the illustration of this period are the campaigns of Alexander the Great and the travels of the three Chinese pilgrims, Fa-Hian, Sang-Yun, and Hwen-Thsang.

'The actual campaigns of the Macedonian conqueror were confined to the valley of the Indus and its tributaries; but the information collected by himself and his companions, and by the subsequent embassies and expeditions of the Seleukide kings of Syria, embraced the whole valley of the Ganges on the north, the eastern and western coasts of the peninsula, and some scattered notices of the interior of the country. This information was considerably extended by the systematic enquiries of Ptolemy, whose account is the more valuable, as it belongs to a period just midway between the date of Alexander and that of Hwen-Thsang, at which time the greater part of North-west India had been subjected by the Indo-Scythians.'

It is to the travels of Hwen-Thsang, however, that we are mainly indebted for our knowledge of the geography of India in the Buddhist period. General Cunningham sketches a brief outline of these travels, which for completeness and extent, he says, have never been surpassed.

In one of his very excellent and instructive maps, General Cunningham contrasts the size and shape of the country as described by the earliest authorities. The Greek writers believed India to be a *rhomboid* in shape, and the description drawn up by Eratosthenes from Alexander's papers is not so incorrect as might be supposed. The *Mahābhārata* describes the country as an equilateral triangle, divided into four smaller equilateral triangles. But, according to the more general opinion among the ancient Hindus, and particularly as set forth in the Puranas, India was of the shape of a lotus-flower, Panchala forming the centre, enclosed by eight other provinces. General Cunningham, however, prefers to take, as a more rational basis for his work, the division of the country into five great provinces, as adopted by the Chinese. These "five Indies," as they were called, *viz.*, *Northern*, *Western*, *Central*, *Eastern* and *Southern* India, comprise the eighty kingdoms into which India was divided in the seventh century of our era. And these kingdoms are successively described by General Cunningham according to their position in the above order of arrangement.

As a specimen of the critical acumen which General Cunningham brings to bear upon his work, we may refer to his remarks upon the vexed question of the situation of the "Ophir" mentioned in the Old Testament. They are to be found on pp. 496—499 of his book, and reference is again made to the subject on pp. 560—562. A very fair history of the discussion

is given in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*; but the writer of that article, though evidently strongly impressed by the arguments in favour of India, is biased, as it seems to us, by the inference which he draws from Genesis x. 29, that the author of that passage believed Ophir to be situated in Arabia. A more general opinion perhaps has sought to identify Ophir with some place in Ceylon or the south of India,—a very strong argument in favour of this view being the fact that the words used in the original for the 'ivory, apes and peacocks,' and 'algum trees,' which Solomon's navy used to bring him, are pure Sanskrit names, with the mere addition of the Hebrew plural. But, says General Cunningham,

'If the fleet of Solomon obtained these Sanskrit names in Ceylon, then we must admit that the Aryan race had pushed their conquests to the extreme south of India, some centuries before the time of Solomon, that is, about 1200 or 1500 B.C. But at this very time, as we learn from their own records, the Aryans had not yet crossed the Narbada, nor even penetrated to the mouth of the Ganges. It does not, therefore, seem possible that any of their names could have been obtained either in Ceylon or in the south of India so early as the time of Solomon. Even according to their own annals, the Ceylonese were barbarians until the landing of Vijaya in B.C. 543; and there is no satisfactory evidence of any Aryan connection or intercourse before the time of Mahendra, the son of Asoka, in B.C. 242.'

General Cunningham's own opinion is, that the Ophir of the Bible, which is always rendered Sôpheir or Sôphir by Josephus and the Septuagint — possibly in deference to the Coptic name of India, which was Sophir—is the *Sauvîra* of Hindu geography or south-western Rajputâna. It would thus lie just to the north of Bhâroch and the Gulf of Khambay, "which from time immemorial has been the chief seat of Indian trade with the West. During the whole period of Greek history, this trade was almost monopolized by the famous city of Barygaza, or Bhâroch, at the mouth of the Narbada river." This position, moreover, agrees with the locality assigned to *Sindhu Sauvîra* by the Hindu geographers. General Cunningham derives the word from the *Vadari* or *Ber-tree* (Jujube); and the transformation of *Sauvîra* into Hofir or Ophir is quite as natural as that of *Sindhu* into *Hind* or *Indus*.

'It now remains to show that the district of *Vadari* or *Eder*, which I have suggested as the most probable representation of Ophir, has been and still is one of the gold producing countries of the world. The evidence on this point, though meagre, is quite clear. The only ancient testimony which I can produce is that of Pliny, who describes the people dwelling on the other side of Mount *Capitalia* (or *Abu*) as possessing "extensive mines of gold and silver." At the present day

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the Aravali range is the only part of India in which silver is found in any quantity, while the beds of its torrents still produce gold, of which many fine specimens may be seen in the Indian Museum.'

Lassen and Ritter would fix the site of Ophir at the mouth of the Indus, that is, at some distance north-east of that suggested by General Cunningham; but, whatever may be the exact site, the combination of such a weight of authority ought, we think, to settle the question, so far as it lies between Arabia or Africa and India.

A STUDENT'S MANUAL OF THE HISTORY OF INDIA, *from the earliest period to the present.* By MEADOWS TAYLOR, C.S.I., M.R.A.S., M.R.I.A., &c. Author of 'Confessions of a Thug,' 'Tara,' etc. etc. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1870.

WE can scarcely speak too highly of this useful volume. In some 800 pages of clear readable type, the author has contrived to give us a tolerably fair summary of all that is known of the history of India, from the most ancient times up to the vice-royalty of Lord Mayo. The summary, however, is not a mere abstract, but a continuous narrative written in a pleasant flowing style. It is illustrated by maps of India, Afghanistan and the Punjab, and plans of Baillie's defeat and the battle of Assaye. To the History is appended an excellent index, occupying 84 pages of small type.

Colonel Meadows Taylor prefaces his work with a brief description of the people of India, and, though we are not prepared to admit all his statements, the unrivalled opportunities which he had in this country of seeing and mixing with the natives undoubtedly give special value to this portion of his work. The characteristics of the people, their food, costume, amusements and occupations, the system of caste and the elements of the Hindu religion—are described in a manner which cannot fail to interest the student in the country, of which he is about to read. The chapters on the Aryan conquest, and the rise and decline of Buddhism, not only form a novel feature in histories of India, but are written in as clear and intelligent a manner as the imperfect knowledge at our disposal will admit.

The religious beliefs of any people have a peculiar interest in the present day, and Colonel Meadows Taylor's remarks on the religion of the Hindus are worth consideration. After pointing out what an essentially religious people the Hindus are, he goes on to describe the basis upon which their beliefs and practices rest.

'They are based upon faith, which as the main doctrine of their religion, is the motive from which their practical religion springs. It does not concern them that the lives of the gods they believe in, as

represented in the Puranas and other popular scriptures, are cruel, capricious, immoral, or, on the other hand, benevolent ; or that the legends regarding them are filled with events which are utterly incredible or absurd. It is enough that the gods are believed to be as they are represented ; that their actions cannot be tried by human standards, and that they have the power and the will to grant what is besought of them. Absolute unconditional faith in them rises superior to all objections or impossibilities ; reverence, even amounting to childish credulity, holds the believer in thrall, and a practical devotion follows, which is the habitual condition of mind in which the devout Hindoo desires to live. In the new system of doctrine promulgated by the Brahmins on the resuscitation of Hindooism and the decline of Booddhism, the quickening influence of faith was undoubtedly the most important. The new doctrines are founded on the tenets of the Vedas, but are simplified and purged from metaphysical subtleties, which had become, under these great amplifications, incomprehensible by the ordinary masses of the people, and the discussions on which are confined to the Brahmins themselves. Faith in the mercy or power of God, or of any divinity, male or female, as part of the divine principle or essence, efficacious to hear and grant prayer ; the assurance that prayer addressed would be heard by one who had sympathies with human life and its needs, was a doctrine which accorded with the cravings of human souls, entered into their daily lives and became part of their being. No matter who, of the whole Pantheon, might be adopted as the tutelary divinity of the man and of his family, to that being they gave unreserved faith, and through all vicissitudes, he or she, as it might be, became the object of adoration and of confidence.'

Next to faith, the writer goes on to observe, good works have a large part in the every-day religion of Hindu life. Nor 'are the consequences of sin overlooked.

'Here, however, the religion of the people falls into caste discipline, which is a more direct and efficient means of preserving general Hindoo morality than is religion in the abstract, as indeed has been previously explained. Without the restrictions of caste, it will be admitted that the religion of faith alone, earnest and vivid as it may be, would prove a weak defence against immorality of all kinds ; and it is under the joint action of the two, strengthening and supporting each other, that the Hindoos have not only preserved both, but that there is a vitality in them at present which at no period of Hindoo history would seem to have been exceeded.'

There is much to provoke controversy in these extracts. In the first place, some may be inclined to question whether either the Hindu religion or the system of caste in the present day does possess that vitality which is here attributed to it. In many parts of the country there is no doubt that the foundations of both the one and the other have long ago been sapped, and that their continued existence is not so much due to any inherent force of their own, as to the influence of that conservatism

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which is nowhere so powerful as in India. It is quite possible again that some may object to the statement that a religion of faith can have no force unless allied with a caste-system. Such a statement is at least equivalent to an admission that the faith which is attributed to the Hindu is not such a living faith as inspired the early Christian Church, but a mere mass of credulity and superstition which draws what life it has, not from any inherent principles, but externally from immemorial custom and tradition. We must also take objection to the doubt expressed, whether Christianity has ever proved itself able to dispell, or in any way affect, the Shakti superstitions,—a term by which Colonel Taylor seems to understand the worship of devils, serpents and other malignant deities. A few pages further on, Colonel Taylor himself admits that it is among the tribes who practise this kind of worship, that the Christian faith has made the most remarkable progress.

Neither is Colonel Meadows Taylor so happy as elsewhere, in his chapter on the condition of India before the invasion of the Aryans. Here he feels it incumbent upon him to say something fine about Negritos and Turanians, and falling into the pitfall which is prepared for those who talk about what they do not rightly understand, he flounders about in hopeless confusion. The ancient tribes of India, we are told, "are now generally classed as Turanian, and belong to a very large section of one of the most ancient people on the earth, who inhabited India, the Eastern and part of the Pacific Islands, and Australia. They have also been termed Negritós, because of certain points of similarity with the negroes of Africa." Further on we read of 'Turanian Negritós,' though we are not told what the Aryan or Semitic Negritós are like. Some of the sub-Himalayan tribes, it is stated, "have become intermixed with Mongolians; but by far the greater number are Turanians or Negritós, and they extend till they meet with the Shans, Karens and Burmese." By the way, can the Garrows, Kacharis, Kookies or Lushais, be strictly classed as sub-Himalayan tribes?

*Hints towards a reconstruction of the Educational Department,
N. W. P. Re-printed, with additions, from the Pioneer of August
1870.*

THIS collection of papers carries with it all the weight which is derived from the fact that it received its first *imprimatur* from the editorial chair of an 'inspired' journal. It displays such an extensive and intimate acquaintance with the working of the educational system of the North-West as to demonstrate the professional or official connection of the writer with that work; when we add that it blames the Government for allowing

so much of the grant-in-aid money to find its way into Missionary coffers, and that it endeavours to prove that Agra should be the *omphalos* of the learning of the Upper Provinces, we think we have nearly succeeded in piercing, *pro hac vice*, that cloud of obscurity and journalistic impersonality against which the Positivists have lately been preaching a crusade.

Some of the propositions made by the writer seem almost startling, when we remember the oracular character of the journal in which they first appeared. They are thoroughly radical; and are put forward with much of that audacity and of that disregard for minor consequences, which are usually characteristic of the suggestions of irresponsible amateur politicians. The pamphleteer wishes to increase the efficiency, and to effect a small saving in the administration of higher education, by concentrating all the English professional teaching-power at one great central college, which should be placed at Agra. He would abolish all the other colleges of the province, with the exception of Benares, where he would retain a small staff for conducting purely Oriental studies. According to his own showing, the saving would be infinitesimal, and it would probably disappear altogether when provision had been made for a Sanskrit chair at his proposed central college—an obvious necessity in any institution affiliated to the Calcutta University, but one which has apparently escaped his notice. It is undoubtedly true that the possession of one large and fully-officered college, like the Presidency at Calcutta, is almost a *sine quâ non* for the encouragement of the very highest scholarship, like that demanded in the M.A. and Honor Examinations of the University; but such scholarship is an expensive luxury, and high education in the North-West does not seem to have as yet reached such a stage as to make it in any way a necessary. On the other hand, the abolition of the mofussil colleges would inflict a fatal blow on the cause of high education, and therefore of civilisation, in the districts so deprived of intellectual light. We say *deprived* advisedly, for very few of the students who come to the fore in the local colleges, would have so much enterprise, and at the same time so much wealth, as to be both able and willing to undergo a long and expensive sojourn in a remote seminary for the sake of learning.

The most important, and we think the most objectionable, point in the proposed reconstruction, is the change in the inspecting agency. The writer would abolish the present highly paid and responsible class of Inspectors of Schools; and also, in name at least, the class of Deputy Inspectors. In reality, however, the latter class is retained by him under the name of Inspectors, who are to be very numerous and restricted to the actual work of inspection. He proposes to pay them Rs. 300, instead of the Rs. 125 which the present

Deputy Inspectors draw ; and he thinks that " Europeans brought up in this country," as well as " the more intelligent " of the natives whom we have moulded according " to our own system," would be found extremely eligible for this service. All executive work, and as much of the responsibility as possible, would be transferred from the Inspectors to the local committees and the civil district officers. The tendency of such a system would obviously be to make the new Inspectors identical in point of duties and position with the present Deputy Inspectors, whilst the function of the present Inspectors would be simply transferred to the shoulders of unpaid and therefore careless committees, or of magistrates and joint-magistrates who have already more work on their hands than they know how to get through.

A BRIEF VIEW OF POSITIVISM. *Compiled from the works of Auguste Comte, by S. LOBB, M.A., Calcutta : Thacker, Spink and Co. 1871.*

THE Calcutta public have lately heard so much of Positivism and its able supporters on this side of India, that we dare not venture to enter the lists again at present with Messrs. Lobb, Cotton, or any other of the humble followers of the illustrious philosopher. In fact, these friends of Humanity are becoming a bore. We must confess that whenever we meet a Positivist now-a-days, our feelings are somewhat akin to those of Canning's

Knife-grinder.

" I should be glad to drink your honour's health in
A pot of beer, if you will give me sixpence ;
But for my part I never love to meddle
With politics, Sir."

Friend of Humanity.

" I give the six pence ! I'll see that d——d first ;
Wretch whom no sense of wrongs can rouse to vengeance,
Sordid, unfeeling, reprobate, degraded,
Spiritless outcast !"

[Kicks the Knife-grinder, overturns his wheel, and exit in a transport of republican enthusiasm and universal philanthropy.]

The following books have reached us too late for notice in the present number.

MEMOIR OF GEORGE EDWARD LYNCH COTTON, D.D., Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan. *With Selections from his journals and correspondence.* Edited by Mrs. Cotton. London : Longmans Green & Co. 1871.

•**MANUAL OF COORG.** *A Gazetteer of the natural features of the country and the social and political features of its inhabitants.* Compiled by Rev. G. Richter, Principal, Government Central School, Mercara, and Inspector of the Coorg Schools. (With a map and four illustrations.) Mangalore. Published by C. Stolz, Basel Mission Book Repository. 1870.

NEW EXPOSITION OF THE SCIENCE OF KNOWLEDGE. By J. G. Fichte. Translated from the German by A. E. Kroeger. St Louis, Mo. 1869.

Among the official publications which we have received during the quarter, we may prominently note the following :—

Administration Report by the Resident at Hyderabad ; including a report on the administration of the Hyderabad Assigned Districts for the year 1869-70. By Charles B. Saunders, Esq., C.B., Bengal Civil Service, Resident at Hyderabad. Hyderabad, 1870.

Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government, P. W.D. Irrigation Branch, No. I. Papers from 1866 to 1870 regarding the Damoodah Canal Project.

BENGALI BOOKS.

Krishidarpan. Part II. By Hari Mohan Mukhopādhyáy. Calcutta : Hitaishi Press. B. E. 1277.

THIS is the second part of what the author calls the *Mirror of Agriculture*, though the book is, properly speaking, a *Mirror of Arboriculture*, for it does not treat of the cultivation of paddy and other grains, but of the planting of trees in a garden. The first part, which was published some time since, treated chiefly of grafting ; the present volume speaks of the transplantation of trees and of the methods of improving them. The writer is not unacquainted with works on horticulture written in the English language ; but he also furnishes us with much original information derived from his own experience. Babu Hari Mohan Mukhopādhyáy deserves great praise for writing on so practical and useful a subject, instead of wasting his powers on some silly tale or the perpetration of poetry. We trust the book will create in native gentlemen a taste for the elegant pursuits of gardening.

Sakti Sambhava. An epic poem. By Bihari Lal Bandyopādhyáy. Calcutta : Hitaishi Press. B. E. 1277.

BABU Bihari Lal Banerjea is evidently not a 'born poet' and it is no use fighting against nature. Every good thing contained in the volume has been stolen from the *Tilottamá Sambhava*. If the writer were to take to prose, he might produce something worth reading.

Svabhāva-Sikshā. Instructions from Nature. Part I. By Chandra Nath Sarmā. Serampore : Tamahar Press. 1870.

HERE is another little volume of verses—of inferior merit, if possible, to the preceding ; the only redeeming feature being its brevity.

Satranjī-Sukhsāgar. Part I. By Brahmānanda Chattopadhyāy. Calcutta : Vidyaratna Press. 1871.

THIS *Happy Ocean of Chess* will be useful to those Babus who wish to be initiated into the mysteries of that royal game. Though the book gives directions regarding the native method of chess-playing, our Bengali Staunton 'is not ignorant of the English and Persian modes.

Padyamālā. Part I. By Man Mohan Basu. Calcutta : Stanhope Press. 1870.

AS a poetical reading book for little boys in vernacular schools, this performance is not without merit. Both the matter and the manner are suited to the capacities of little children.

Hitasikshā, or Useful Instructions. Part IV. By Gopal Chandra Bandyopadhyāy, Head Master, Calcutta Normal School. Calcutta : Hitaishī Press. B. E. 1276.

THIS is a school book of considerable merit. Amongst other useful subjects, it contains well-written memoirs of David Hare, and the late Hon'ble Sambhunath Pundit of the Calcutta High Court.

Pārvati-Parinay. A Drama. By Girī Chandra Chudamani. Calcutta : Sanskrit Press. 1277.

THE subject of Kalidasa's celebrated poem, the *Kumara-Sambhava*, is not badly dramatized in this volume. The play is dedicated by the author to Raja Satyānand Ghosal of Bhukailās. Playing upon the name of the Raja's residence, the writer styles him "the self-existent Lord of Kailās." The force of flattery can no further go.

Kavi-Kalpa. Part I. By Harinath Majumdār. Calcutta : Girī-vidyaratna Press. B. E. 1277.

IN this book are contained metrical versions of some stories of Hindu mythology, like Daksha's sacrifice, the story of Narada, the story of Akurā, the death of Kansa, &c. &c. The versification is not altogether destitute of merit.

Kavitābali. By Hem Chandra Bandyopādhyay. Calcutta : Stanhope Press. B. E. 1277.

THESE poetical pieces are amongst the best specimens of Bengali poetry we have recently seen. The versification is nearly faultless, the sentiments are not always common-place, and the imagery shows good taste in the writer. The volume is a reprint of pieces which appeared first in the columns of the *Education Gazette* and the *Abodha-Bandhu*. The first piece, a ballad entitled "Indra's Potation," is in our opinion the best.

Utkarsha-vidhāna. By Giris'chandra Vidyaratna. Calcutta : Girisvidyaratna Press. B. E. 1277.

Rumdra Sikshā. By Becharam Chattopadhyāy. Bhowanipore : Sāptāhika Press. Sakābda. 1792.

THESE two little books are intended to be used as school-books, and treat of a variety of subjects interesting to boys and girls. The style of both is unexceptionable.

Rājābālā. By Rāj Krishna Mukhopādhyāy. Calcutta : J. G. Chatterjea & Co's Press. B. E. 1277.

THIS is a historical romance, founded on recollections connected with the village of Gosvāmi-Durgāpur, on the banks of the Kumara, about four miles from the station of Alamdanga on the Eastern Bengal Railway. The story is well conceived and well told. We have no doubt the performance will add to the author's reputation as a good Bengali writer.

Abhedī. By Tekchānd Thākur. First Edition. Calcutta : Suchāru Press. 1871.

AS we have remarked elsewhere, this novel is hardly worthy of the author of *A'aler Ghorer Dulāl*. Tekchand's first work is as yet his best. His subsequent tales show either a want of industry or a decay of mental power, or both. The promise which his first work gave has not been realized.

The *Abhedī*, as a story, is unreadable. One Anveshan Chandra sets out on an expedition in search of truth. All at once he finds himself in a dense forest, where he meets with a shooting party, composed of two military gentlemen, a clergyman or missionary, and a band of savage hill-men. The hill-men show such courage in closing upon the tiger, that the enquirer is struck with admiration of them, goes up to their hills, spends a night with them, and talks to them on religious subjects. He proceeds on his journey, sees a Hindu widow burn herself on the funeral pyre of her deceased husband, admires her courage and religious

earnestness, and draws from the scene the inference that the soul must be distinct from the body! In the course of his peregrinations he visits various places where he meets with various sorts of people, with whom he holds religious conferences, and from whom he tries to draw out all the good they have. At last he meets with a man of the name of *Abhedī*, or the Unsectarian, who opens the eyes of his understanding, solves his doubts, and teaches him the *truth*. What that truth is, is more than we can tell;—for the whole thing is represented in so shadowy and obscure a manner that it is difficult to apprehend it. Thus much, however, may be gathered that, in our author's opinion, all faith, whether idolatrous, polytheistic or monotheistic, is salutary, and that the essence of religion consists in the subjugation of the passions. The book is neither a novel nor a moral essay. It has the faults of both species of composition, without any of the redeeming qualities of either. By the way, why does the author say in the title-page that it is the 'first edition' of the work? Is he quite sure that a second will be called for?

Kāvya Chandrikā. By Isān Chandra Vidyāvāgis. Berhampore : Satyaratna Press. Samvat 1930.

THIS is a Bengali translation of a small Sanskrit book called *Kāvya Chandrikā* or the Moonlight of Poesy, together with a commentary which is also translated into Bengali. So far as we have seen, the translation seems to be good and the comments just.

Sāktisēla. Part I. By Yasódananda Sarkār. Calcutta : B. P. M's Press. B. E. 1277.

THIS is a poetical version, both in rhyme and in blank verse, of a pathetic incident which occurred in the war between Rāma and Rāvana, as described in the *Rāmāyana*. In our opinion, the vigorous lines in which the incident is briefly described by old Vālmīki himself are infinitely preferable to the dull and tasteless amplification of his Bengali paraphrast.

Srīgovindamangal. By Syām Dās Dās. Calcutta : N. L. Seal's Press. Sakābdā 1792.

FEW books have exercised greater influence on the popular faith in India than the great Purāna called the *Srīmat-Bhāgavat*; we are therefore thankful to our author for translating into Bengali the first twelve *skandhas* of that immortal work. But we cannot help regarding it as a pity that he has translated it into verse instead of into prose, as the latter form would have given us a more faithful representation of the original.

Critical Notices.

Bhāratavarshiya Upāsaka-sampradāy. The religious sects of the Hindus. By Akshay Kumar Datta. Part I. Calcutta : Sanskrit Press. B. E. 1277.

THIS is a very valuable work, both as to matter and manner. It treats of the peculiarities of the thousand and one sects of religion that are to be found in all parts of India. Some of the information contained in the volume is doubtless to be found in Professor H. H. Wilson's *Religious Sects of the Hindus* ; but it contains also a good deal of original information, chiefly regarding the minor religious sectaries in Bengal. The body of the work appeared twenty-two years ago, from time to time, as articles in the *Tattva Bodhini Patrikā*, of which the gifted author was the Editor. But the work before us is not merely a reprint. It contains an admirably written Prolegomena, one hundred and six pages long, in which the author gives a *résumé* of the results of the labours of H. H. Wilson, Martin Haug, Theodore Goldstücker and Max Müller in the field of Vedic literature. With regard to the style of composition, it is remarkably clear and elegant, the author having been regarded for a long time as one of the best Bengali writers of the day. We hope the second part will be published without delay.



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Security to Life Policy-Holders.

In order to obtain perfect accuracy, the Directors have just had two separate and independent Valuations made of the Life Liabilities and Assets of the Company: one by the Officers of the Company; and the other by W. Sam^l. Brown, one of the most experienced Actuaries of the day: the results being:—

Value of Total Life Liabilities — £1,005,677
Total Assets to meet these Liabilities — 1272,343
Surplus in hand, beyond Liabilities £.266,666

The Schedules have been prepared in the exact form prescribed in the "Life Companies' Act" 1870.

ROYAL INSURANCE COMPANY.

Head Offices :

Royal Insurance Buildings, North John St., Liverpool ;

AND

Lombard Street, London.

INDEPENDENT VALUATION OF LIFE LIABILITIES.

The Directors have obtained an **INDEPENDENT REPORT** from Mr. SAMUEL BROWN, on the results of the Life Business for the **Five Years** ending 31st December, 1869, as follows :—

LIFE LIABILITIES and ASSETS on 31st December, 1869.

	Number.	Net Value of Liabilities.	Life Funds.	Surplus.
General Life Assurances, less Re-Assurances	14,292	£835,568	£1,085,524	£249,956
Children's Endowments	222	22,795	25,589	2,794
Annuities (Immediate & Deferred)	463	147,314	161,230	13,916
TOTAL	14,977	£1,005,677	£1,272,343	£266,666

NOTE.—The Valuation of the Life Policies has been made at 3 per cent. interest, and the **NET PREMIUMS ONLY** HAVE BEEN TAKEN, so that the loadings for future profits and expenses are entirely held in reserve, and not brought into the valuation.

The amount now dealt with is the Profit during the last Five Years on Life Policies, being **£249,956**. The proportion of Profit which falls to the Assured will provide a Reversionary Bonus of **£7 10s.** per cent. to be added to the original sum assured of every Participating Policy existing on 1st January, 1870, which had then been in force five entire years ; and also to Participating Policies of shorter duration, a proportional Reversionary Addition for each entire year of their existence, provided they were effected previously to 1st January, 1868, and existing on 1st January, 1870.

The profits accrued on Annuities and Endowments are still kept in reserve, and allowed to accumulate.

FUNDS IN HAND.

Capital paid-up	£260,095	0	0
Reserve Fund, and Profit and Loss Account	280,363	14	5
Life Assurance Funds.....	1,173,401	9	1

JOHN H. McLAREN, MANAGER.

CHAS. G. FOTHERGILL, SUB-MANAGER.

ROYAL INSURANCE COMPANY.

Head Offices :

Royal Insurance Buildings, North John St., Liverpool ;

AND

Lombard Street, London.

INVESTMENT OF FUNDS

AT 31st DECEMBER, 1869.

Freehold Property owned by the Company and Mortgages on Freehold Property	£254,550	19	5
£30,000 Reduced 3 per cent. Annuities	28,012	17	6
India Government 5 per cent. Debentures	100,000	0	0
First-Class English Railway Preference and Guaranteed Stocks	381,309	11	4
Loans to Local Authorities of various towns in Great Britain who have obtained the sanction of the Secretary of State to borrow the amounts	141,383	18	3
Bonds of the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board	62,272	14	2
Bonds of the British and Irish Magnetic Telegraph Company	10,000	0	0
Bonds of the Liverpool Corporation	5,160	0	0
Bonds of London and St. Katherine's Docks Company ...	40,000	0	0
English Railway Debenture Bonds	55,455	0	0
United States Government Stocks	108,008	9	2
Canadian Consolidated Stock and Canada Dominion Stock	31,244	7	3
Short Loan on First-class English Dividend Paying Stocks with margins from 20 to 50 per cent. on market values	504,953	19	3
Loans on Security of Life Policies	64,425	2	10
	£1,764,776	19	2
Cash in hand, in various Banks and in hands of Agents...	86,092	8	4
Total - - -	£1,850,869	7	6

FIRE DEPARTMENT.

Net Premiums in 1869£485,180

Being the Largest Amount ever received by the Company
for Fire Premiums in any One Year.

JOHN H. McLAREN, MANAGER.

JOHN B. JOHNSTON, SECRETARY IN LONDON.

Extract from Auditors' Reports.

Royal Insurance Office - Liverpool, 30th July, 1890.

We certify that we have carefully examined all the Books, Accounts, Vouchers for Payments, the Bank Book; and other Documents relating to the business of the Company for the year 1889.

We have compared the Balance Sheet signed by us with the Books; and it represents the financial position of the Company's affairs on the 31st December last.

Every security, consisting of Life Policies, Life Annuities, Bonds, Notes, Railway Shares and Government Stock held here, as stated in the Balance Sheet, has been seen and examined by us.

Signed:— } Joseph Youngblood, }
 } Chief Auditor, }
 } Auditors.

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